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## **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

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4 MAY 1989

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Egypt 'In League or Face Boycott'**

44000459d *Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English*  
26 Mar 89 p 1- 2

[Text] Jordan's King Husayn said yesterday that his country, Iraq and North Yemen will boycott any future Arab summits, unless Egypt regains its Arab League seat.

Husayn said in Isma'iliyah, Egypt this was decided by the four countries which recently formed an economic grouping named the Arab Cooperation Council.

Husayn, Egypt's President Husni Mubarak and Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasir 'Arafat jointly briefed reporters after nearly five hours of policy coordination talks on Middle East peace efforts.

Mubarak said a major aim of his Washington talks with President George Bush next month will be to seek agreement on convening an international Middle East peace conference.

### **Pressure**

'Arafat called for an extraordinary Arab summit conference as soon as possible to forge a unified Arab strategy for peace negotiations with Israel and to end the 10-year-old suspension of Egypt's membership in the Arab League.

Husayn's surprise disclosure of a boycott threat was clearly intended as an instrument of pressure.

"There have been calls for an ordinary or extraordinary Arab summit," Husayn said.

"We are always for a summit and the members of the Arab Cooperation Council will attend any summit together. This is a decision we have taken: To attend together."

Asked if the opposite was true, Husayn nodded and said: "Yes."

The league froze Egypt's membership in 1979 after it signed a peace treaty with Israel. Of the League's 21 member states, only Syria and Libya have opposed Egypt's readmission.

The Husayn-'Arafat-Mubarak meeting, their second in five months, was to prepare for Washington talks between Bush and regional leaders in April and May. The first meeting was held at Aqaba, Jordan, on 22 October.

The three are key players in the Arab drive to initiate overall peace talks with Israel, primarily with U.S. help. Washington mediated the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty signed 26 March 1979. Most Arabs want Washington to lead the way toward a comprehensive regional settlement.

The Isma'iliyah summit was held on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the treaty, the first and only one between an Arab country and Israel.

Noting "positive developments" in the U.S. and European positions on the Middle East, Mubarak said: "The main purpose of my talks (with Bush) is to arrive at an international peace conference."

He expressed hope that Israel, which opposes the conference idea, will change its mind.

Meanwhile, the British government has decided to have ministerial level meetings with 'Arafat, Abu Dhabi-based newspaper AL ITTIHAD said.

### **GCC Joint Rice Purchase Successful**

44000461 *Muscat AL-WATAN in Arabic*  
22 Mar 89 p 12

[Text] 'Abd-al-Bari 'Abd-al-Ghaffar, director of the import-export company, said that the GCC [Gulf Corporation Council] joint rice purchase achieved positive results and gave these countries greater negotiating leverage which so far has resulted in saving about \$35 million.

The GCC states, he added, have accorded the joint rice purchase project great attention in view of the importance of this commodity and in order to obtain a good quality [product], in addition to realizing great financial savings.

He pointed out that this attention was reflected in the formation of a permanent committee composed of the GCC officials concerned with the joint purchase of rice.

### **Iraq Reportedly Pressuring Jordan To Establish Missile Bases**

44000460 *MA'ARIV in Hebrew* 3 Apr 89 pp 1,2

44000460 [Editorial Report] Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew on 3 April 1989 carries a 200-word article on pages 1 and 2 on Iraq's alleged pressuring of Jordan to establish military bases for possible stationing of Iraqi ground-to-ground missiles.

According to the article, the Beirut weekly SABAH AL-KHAYR along with a number of other Arab weeklies reported that Iraq is pressuring Jordan to set up military bases on its soil and to allow a limited number of its forces to operate on these bases. This pressure has increased following the establishment of the "quadripartite confederation" between Jordan, Egypt, North



Yemen, and Iraq which, while originally defined as "economic," has an economic theme as its first stage only, something which Iraq has never concealed.

The type of bases that Iraq reportedly wants to establish in Jordan is not clear. Syria claims that the "quadripartite confederation" as planned by Iraq has a hidden agenda directed against Syria. But in the opinion of Arab observers, Iraq's intention may be to station ground-to-ground missiles on these bases directed toward Israel. This is especially true after Iraqi pronouncements that Iraq would respond with missiles against Israel if Israel tried to bomb military and strategic targets on its soil such as the reconstructed nuclear reactor, missile production plants, and chemical and biological warfare means.

Regarding Iraqi advancements toward producing nuclear warheads, Deputy Chief of Staff Maj Gen Ehud Barak is reported to have said that the Iraqis have not abandoned for a moment their intention to achieve nuclear capability. "We are troubled by all the developments toward attaining the ability to produce long range nuclear weapons capable of striking Israel from Iraqi soil, especially given Iraq's record of using missiles like these, including chemical agents, against the Iranians."

**Iraq Expands Oil Ties With South Yemen**  
44000451 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English  
25 Mar 89 p 10

[Text] Baghdad, March 24, (OPECNA); South Yemen has recently been added to a long list of Arab countries whose oil industries received Iraqi technical aid.

Under an accord signed in Aden last week at the end of a three-day visit to South Yemen by Iraqi Oil Minister 'Isam 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Shalabi, Iraq will provide training facilities to South Yemeni oil personnel at Iraqi oil centres and training institutes.

Moreover, Iraq will considerably increase the quantity of its crude oil—about 15,000 tonnes a year—processed at the Aden oil refinery.

The increase has become possible following the ceasefire in the Gulf war, enabling the country to use its Gulf ports and look for new exporting outlets.

Besides South Yemen, Iraq maintains strong oil cooperation with many Arab countries including Jordan, North Yemen, Sudan, Somalia and Morocco.

**Role**

Iraqi seismic teams have played a major role in oil discoveries in Jordan and North Yemen over the past few years while Iraqi experts have provided technical assistance to Sudan as well as Somalia where Iraq built an oil refinery in the 1970s.

The expansion of Iraq's oil cooperation with other Arab countries coincides with the considerable boom in the country's oil industry, with recent figures showing that in 1988 oil production increased by 19.3 per cent over the 1987 level.

Iraq's oil industry will receive a further boost when a major oil refinery in the southern Iraqi city of al-Basrah, whose completion was delayed by the war, goes into production in June 1989 with an annual capacity of 140,000 BPD of petroleum products and 100,000 tonnes of lubricating oil.

**Professor Says Egyptian War Aid to Iraq Reaches \$5 Billion**

45000144 Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 27 Mar 89 p 7

[Report by Sami Murad]

[Text] Dr Rabi' Hamid, a professor of political science at Cairo University, has affirmed that Egypt's support for Iraq in its war against Iran helped to achieve the Iraqi victory, and that the amount of Egyptian military aid to Iraq as of last year totaled \$5 billion. Egypt also contributed training and the latest military expertise to the Iraqi fighters. He added that Egyptian aid also helped Iraq economically, taking in most of the production sectors. The number of Egyptian workers in Iraq totaled 2 million at a time when Baghdad's population was no more than 3 million people.

He also asserted that long-range missiles had been produced jointly by Egypt and Iraq with Brazilian expertise, Iraqi capital, and Egyptian labor. Egyptians also participated in protecting Iraq's domestic front during the war. At a symposium at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Dr Rabi' asserted that Egypt's absence from the Arab arena at the end of the seventies, due to the peace accord with Israel, led to the outbreak of the Gulf war and encouraged Iran to try to take control of the region. Dr Rabi' Hamid also demanded the organization of an emigration of Egyptian workers to Iraq. He indicated that the Gulf war allowed Egypt to return to the Arab nations to protect them from the Iranian threat. The war also allowed a true Egyptian military presence in the Gulf region and a chance for Egyptian labor to migrate to Iraq.

**Fahd Donates SR30 Million For Yemeni Flood Victims**

44000453 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English  
26 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Riyadh, March 25 (SPA)—Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd has donated SR30 million to help flood victims in South Yemen and ordered the setting up of a committee under the chairmanship of Interior Minister Prince Nayif to supervise collection of donations for the victims.

King Fahd announced the donation and hoped it would act as an example to all citizens, particularly owners of commercial, industrial and agricultural establishments as well as banks and businessmen to contribute generously to the relief fund.

Agencies add: Floods caused by torrential rains have killed at least 16 people in central South Yemen while tens of thousands of people have lost their homes, the Aden News Agency said today.

The agency, contacted by telephone, said officials were struggling to send food and other supplies to devastated areas but some districts could be reached only by helicopter.

The floods, the worst to hit the normally arid coastal plain in many years, had washed away many houses in Hadramawt province and inundated thousands of acres of farmland, it said.

The agency said at least 16 people had been killed in four towns. The town of Saywun was cut off and houses there were reported to be collapsing in the continuing downpours.

Aden radio said earlier that at least 50,000 people were now homeless. South Yemen has appealed for international help for the victims.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### Islamic Jihad Leader Interviewed

44040314 Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic  
7 Mar 89 pp 30-31

[Interview with Shaykh Ahmad Yasin, head of Islamic Jihad, by unidentified interviewer: "No Negotiations, No Elections, Media Suppressed Part of What I Said"; date and place not given]

[Text] The media have carried statements attributed to militant Shaykh Ahmad Yasin to the effect that he was ready to meet and negotiate with enemy Minister of War Yitzhaq Rabin and to agree on elections in the West Bank and Gaza under the occupation. The media also have carried information to the effect that there has been agreement and coordination between Hamas and the Unified Command in occupied Palestine. To determine the truth of this information, a call was made to Shaykh Yasin and the following discussion was held with him.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] Are the news agency reports true—that you have expressed your readiness to support elections in occupied Palestine?

[Shaykh Yasin] The truth is that the answer is incomplete. I was asked, "What is your opinion about elections?" I said that elections under occupation were invalid, because the adversary was the government. If the occupation authorities left unconditionally and

under international supervision and observation, the elections could be sound. The media cut the first half of my words and published only the second half.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] The media also mentioned that you stated your readiness to meet Rabin or Shamir and negotiate with them. These words caused general dissatisfaction in Islamic circles. What is the truth?

[Shaykh Yasin] Brother, I am a countryman who lives, like other Palestinians, under occupation. I am continually being summoned before intelligence and military authorities. Neither I nor anyone else has the power to refuse. If I refused, they would come to me at home and take me by force wherever they wanted. That is what I said. So if I am invited, I will go, just as any ordinary countryman of mine without official capacity would go. If a person is summoned, he is forced under the military government to go out to meet whoever summons him, regardless of whether the person is an officer, minister, coordinator, or anyone else.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What was the context of the subject of negotiations?

[Shaykh Yasin] A correspondent from YEDI'OT AHARONOT came to me and asked, "What would you feel if Israeli officials came to negotiate with you? Would you negotiate with them?" I said that I could not, because I was not on an equal footing with the person with whom I would be negotiating. I am a person who the person negotiating on the other side could imprison, kill, or exile—thus, a person not on equal footing with his negotiator. The fact is that negotiations cannot take place. That is what I said.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What is the real relation between Hamas and the Unified Command? What is the truth of information carried by the media about complete coordination between the two sides, and that Hamas will stop issuing separate bulletins?

[Shaykh Yasin] The truth is that things that appear on the surface sometimes indicate that there is coordination and sometimes indicate that there isn't. Clearly, there are no contradictions, nor is there anything to indicate the truth of the information you are talking about. Hamas is still issuing its own bulletins and defining its own programs and measures, and people are responding to them, as can be seen.

### Hamas an Existing Reality

[AL-MUJTAMA'] In the Arab and Western press, we have recently noticed emphasis on Hamas's role, contrasting with past ignoring of it. What do you think about this?

[Shaykh Yasin] Hamas is an existing reality. It exists. Covering it up and ignoring it will not serve to deflect Hamas from its goals or distort its image among people

who have learned about it close up. Hamas is from them and for them. No one will be able to entice it into the trackless wastes and slippery places of a peaceful solution. The honorable and sincere defend Hamas in its role and positions. Its closeness to its people and its interaction with their tragedies and sufferings force themselves onto the pens of opponents and the lips of the resentful.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What do you think about the solutions now being proposed for resolving the Palestinian issue?

[Shaykh Yasin] The pretended solutions are a process of appeasing the feelings of disgust that have spread through the world against Israel and its behavior. They are proof of the picture that has shaken the conscience of many supporters of Israel. They are also an unsuccessful attempt to silence the cries and groans of people under the heel of occupation and their insistent demand that the occupation authorities leave their homeland. We think it unlikely that Israel will give this people anything but oppression, murder, and exile. Israel is used to concessions, to taking and not giving, and to not granting rights to those to whom they are due.

#### Muslim Palestinian State

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What is the position of the Palestinian people on the establishment of the [Palestinian] state?

[Shaykh Yasin] No one rejects the establishment of a state. No one disagrees with the demand for a state. The disagreement is over the nature of this state and how it should be established. Should it be established in the air, or on the soil of Palestine from the sea to the [Jordan] River? If the Palestinian state is not established, the people will continue to carry on jihad [holy war] until its establishment—a Muslim Palestinian state. We will continue to call for the establishment of an Islamic state on the soil of Palestine.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] About confederation with Jordan—the newspapers have carried statements by you. What are they specifically?

[Shaykh Yasin] I said that Islam calls for unity. By virtue of our espousal of Islam, we in principle do not reject unity. But we stipulate that the basis of this unity should be sound and valid. It should be a unity on equal footing in which no party is wronged or has his rights scanted.

#### Be Their Helpers

[AL-MUJTAMA'] What message do you direct to those who live with you in heart and nerve throughout the Islamic world?

[Shaykh Yasin] It is a message to everyone who makes the twofold profession [of God's unity and Muhammad's prophethood] and to everyone who is concerned for the

state of his nation. We are summoners to God. The way of summons is full of thorns and surrounded by dangers. But we believe that the future here and in the entire world belongs to Islam. I remind them that our religion is not a theoretical religion. It is faith and action. They have brothers living under the heel of occupation. Their economic circumstances are difficult and their social circumstances even more difficult. They need the solidarity and help of their brothers. May God have mercy on the emigrants and helpers. Your brothers in Palestine are the emigrants who were turned away from their homes and families unjustly. Be their helpers. Help them with whatever goods you have. The door of charity is open.

As for those in our Islamic world who have despaired and are panting after the mirage of peaceful solutions, begging for it through conferences, we say to them, "Remember the Banu Nadir, who had fortresses and were makers of peace. Remember the weakness of the Messenger of God and his companions after the Battle of Uhud. Remember how by material standards the believers thought they would be unable to defeat the Banu Nadir; but as soon as God's providence entered, victory was theirs."

"It is He who expelled from their habitations the unbelievers among the People of the Book at the first mustering. You did not think that they would go forth, and they thought that their fortresses would defend them against God; then God came upon them from whence they had not reckoned, and He cast terror into their hearts as they destroyed their houses with their own hands, and the hands of the believers; therefore take heed, you who have eyes!" [Koran 59:2].

One must inquire about the truth, since we are in a world that distorts truth and truncates words and answers, cutting out part of them to distort the person interviewed. No Muslim in the world should get information about us and our positions from the mouth of enemies or from the Western media. We are in a world that is all intrigue. The information war is a great and very serious war. We must confirm everything we hear, everything we see, and everything we read.

#### ALGERIA

##### Union Leaders Discuss UGTA Situation

45190052 Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE* in French 3 Mar 89 pp 16-25

[Round table moderated by Farrah Ziane and Larbi Chaabouni with participation by Chaa Mohamed, former national secretary of the General Union of Algerian Workers; Hasni Rashid, former secretary general of the Boumerdes Governorate Union; Dilmî Mohamed Tahar, secretary general of the National Union of Higher Education Teachers; Ghanem Ahmed, Benmazouz, Yacoubi Boualem, Haddad Said, and Idir Kassem, representatives of the Enterprise Workers Assembly in the port of Algiers; Aziouz Mokhtari; and Ghania Hammadou; date and place not given; followed by a statement by the General Union of Algerian Workers marking its 33d anniversary; first six paragraphs are *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE* introduction]



[Text] Pluralism, democracy, and a multiparty system: the die is cast. The debate is getting underway far in advance of the new Constitution that will codify the rules of the democratic game. As part of that debate, the layout of tomorrow's political landscape is already bringing to the fore a range of social forces that are facing each other, political programs in hand, in a permanent struggle, first to implant the democratic process in Algerian customs and traditions and, second, to establish the plan for society which will best correspond to the free choice and profound aspirations of the Algerian people.

Has unionism opted out of this big transformation condemning rigid practices and positions? Not at all! Despite union struggles elsewhere, the port of Algiers has accepted the establishment of an autonomous union founded on the principle of the open list—an autonomous union that has broken completely with anti-democratic methods.

The union with two faces: those are the features of a union that is still reforming itself and trying to find itself in this period of political reforms, autonomy, and demands for democracy.

Those participating in this round table were:

- Chaa Mohamed, former national secretary of the UGTA [General Union of Algerian Workers].
- Hasni Rashid, former secretary general of the Boumerdes Governorate Union (UW)
- Dilmi Mohamed Tahar, secretary general of the National Union of Higher Education Teachers.
- Ghanem Ahmed, Benmazouz, Yacoubi Boualem, Haddad Said, and Idir Kassem, representatives of the ATE [Enterprise Workers Assembly] in the port of Algiers.

We tried to enlarge this debate to include other participants. We regret the absence of the National Secretariat of the UGTA and the Algiers Governorate Union, both of which were invited to take part.

The debate was moderated by Farrah Ziane and Larbi Chaabouni. Also participating were Azouz Mokhtari and Ghania Hammadou.

**REVOLUTION AFRICAINE:** There has been a lot of talk in recent months about a demand for democracy. Seen in relation to the union structure, is that demand for democracy contemporaneous with the events of last 5 October, or did it predate them?

Idir: In my opinion, what is happening today in the union movement and the world of labor throughout the country—that is, what is happening in relation to the issue of democracy—is not contemporaneous with the events of 5 October, because before 5 October—and this goes back several years—there were struggles in the country putting forward that demand for union democracy: for a democratic reform of the unions from top to

bottom, particularly at the bottom. The only example I would mention is what happened in the port. At the general assembly on 15 November 1988, there was a demand to be allowed to freely elect a representative workers assembly based on the open list. I emphasize that that demand did not originate on 5 October—actually, it had been expressed since December 1987. Beginning in December 1987, hundreds of workers visited the central union and other authorities almost every month to demand a solution to their urgent socio-occupational problems and the holding of a general assembly. What we workers did not realize was that just holding a general assembly required months of preparation to organize delegations and go through all the procedures.

Haddad Said: The question of democracy in the port has been present for a very long time. In 1977, I was in the union, and Mr Chaa there was in charge of the central union. There were strikes anyway over democracy and a solution to the workers' social problems. Unfortunately, we ran into barriers everywhere, especially on the part of certain party members who were determined that our action should proceed according to their will. We are militants in the party, but they expelled us. They put labels on us. The events of 5 October were simply the result. The demand for democracy had existed long before. Today, thank God, as a result of the events in the port, the criterion for selection is what happens in the field. Let's put up a candidate on the basis of his actions, and we will see what happens.

Chaa Mohamed: Posing the problem of democracy only as a trade unionist and forgetting that one is first and foremost an Algerian citizen means isolating union democracy from the issue of national democracy. Maybe it is not possible to exhaust the subject in one meeting, since we are in a dangerous situation in which a person may know what he is going to lose but not what he is going to gain in the future. Just a word on the situation we are experiencing, with a tinge of regret that we are on the verge of a referendum, seeing that it appears from the media and especially television that we have not yet heard the voice of the worker, the peasant, and the young person. We have heard several brothers, but only from the elite, meaning the elites of the cultivated classes and people who have studied. We would like to have seen priority given to those broad sectors of the population so we could hear what they think about what is happening in Algeria. When all is said and done, and this is important, the fact is that we are on the verge of a referendum that will radically change the organization of Algerian society. As a trade unionist, I regret—rightly or wrongly, the future will tell—that only one voice has been suppressed, and that is the voice of socialism. We have left all the invariables except that one. The question remains unanswered. Moreover, in the plan and in the debate as reported in the media, they have literally skipped over positive things as though they did not exist (social justice, the struggle against the exploitation of man by man, and so on). The only thing they have

underscored is the issue of the multiparty system. As though that were the key to every solution. Personally, I say that so far, no theoretician or school has been able to demonstrate that the issue of democracy is tied to the problem of the single party or the multiparty system.

One thing is certain, however, we are moving toward the multiparty system. And in this context which assumes the existence of political parties on the right, on the left, and in the center, I ask this question: what will be the future of union unity? If there are contradictions in Algerian society, and that is completely natural, then it is just as natural that people will find themselves faced with having to make individualistic or community-minded choices: of getting rich or remaining by conviction within the general body of workers, peasants, and young people. But I am convinced that while there are contradictions in the political world, there can be no contradictions in the world of labor—among wage earners. So there is nothing to authorize or allow a future multiparty system in the unions, a system which would make workers the easy prey of all the groups and parties that will be established, because as you know, dividing the world of labor is the best way to rule more firmly.

Dilmi Mohamed Tahar: The question which I ask myself personally is this: what kind of democracy do we want? That of words or that of decisionmaking? In other words, are we currently participating in democracy only to make ourselves heard, without sharing in decisionmaking power in the context of democracy? In still other words, if democracy does not have the effect of transforming us into the architects of decisionmaking power, that democracy has no meaning. No meaning in the formal sense.

With that as my starting point, I return to the question of union democracy and the events of 5 October. If I say that 5 October was a dynamic of the union movement, the reason is that I am excluding the UGTA and the union cadres, because from independence until this day, the militant struggle has been continuous with its ups and downs, depending on political circumstances. But history confirms that while past events have posed the concerns of the workers, it also says that the events in October showed, on the contrary, that the workers have committed themselves to remaining calm and defending the production units, because if the workers had walked out, there is no force—neither military institutions, awaks [meaning unknown], nor intercontinental missiles—that could have resisted. Consequently, I leave it to history to evaluate the events of 5 October in the appropriate circumstances, since all we know about them is on the surface; we are not familiar with their components. That being said, I say that the issue of democracy was posed after 5 October—after the workers, intellectuals, and young people confirmed their existence and confirmed their aspirations.

That being said, I share the viewpoint of certain brothers and say that union democracy has been frozen at the level of certain structures—at certain stages. But let us

not forget that all the institutions in Algerian society were integrated into an overall system and bound by a single political program far removed from the political vision held by each of us and in the service of Algerian society. But the UGTA is not a political party. It is a mass organization encompassing all workers for the defense of their material and moral rights and the building of society. All I want to say is that the democratic winds began to blow when we undertook to enrich the National Charter in 1986. We must be realistic. In 1986, when we were mobilized in defense of the public sector, the socialist option and the democratic nature of the political positions of all the institutions began to become clearer. People undertook the defense of liberalism and the private sector. I even heard one brother say at the governorate level that he supported the idea that small merchants and craftsmen were allies of the revolution but also say that they in fact were the revolution. It is all of that which has brought us to the current situation.

There is talk today of returning to our sources. It is time to do that for the UGTA so as to make it the force capable of effectively leading all the workers. Why? We have said that democracy has often been absent from the union. But in no case have the workers rebelled against the General Union of Workers as an organization. So union unity is still an ideal. There are a million and some UGTA members out of a total of about 4 million workers. But the other 3 million have never come out with slogans hostile to the UGTA.

Hasni Rashid: For my part, I feel that the question of union democracy has always been present. There are brothers who have given the best days of their youth and their life to that union democracy. But it was reinforced by the events of 5 October. But on that subject, I would like to inject a personal point of view based on my experience in the Metallurgical Federation (editor's note: Hasni was secretary of the Metallurgical Federation, which was dissolved like all the other federations and replaced by a sector headed by a national secretary of the UGTA). And here I would like to mention a problem in the union movement which history will analyze someday—a problem which divided the union movement and which was orchestrated by manipulators bent on getting the union militants to give up. There were brothers with extremist views and the implementation of union democracy which accentuated the split in the union world. Personally, I argued with conviction for the implementation of Article 120—now Article 121. I believed that implementation of that article would enable the UGTA to be strengthened by honest, upright, and committed men. I was disappointed by the choice of men. All those who had helped strengthen FLN [National Liberation Front] policies within the union organization were eliminated by subterfuge. They were embarrassing witnesses, as you can imagine!

Today the union must capitalize on the experience gained in its struggles and take advantage of the current context to reaffirm the unity and solidarity of the union



organization. This leads me to say that it is time to think about returning to the federations and about working out the right to strike, because so far the policy of dossiers has always been unproductive, since what we have seen are decisions being made by interministerial, regulatory, or governmental commissions and then challenged by members of the same government.

I feel that it is time for all forces of progress in the country to resume their place in the union organization within the context of unity. In a recent interview with a daily newspaper, the secretary general of the UGTA said that the organization was open to all workers. Consequently, it seems to me that compared to the other groups, the UGTA has the most democratic traditions.

**REVOLUTION AFRICAINE:** Actually, we must not delude ourselves. While verbal democracy is granted to workers in the union context, those workers rarely—not to say never—choose their representatives in completely democratic fashion. Also, since the leadership bodies have distributed jobs throughout all the structures and all the machinery in such a way as to ensure their own permanence in office, it is obvious that the union structure has become part of that arrangement and has talked to the workers much more as their guardians than as their representatives. So much so that there is now an undeniable split between words and actions.

**Chaa Mohamed:** I think that the UGTA has not escaped this problem of society which democracy represents. But it is an aberration to speak of the UGTA without speaking of the party. Excluding the first 2 years following independence, about which history will have more to say, there have been, in my opinion, two major stages. There was the first stage, in which the FLN lived almost on the sidelines. It was the guide as far as theory was concerned, but in the field it was barely tolerated. That was the period of 1965, with the advent of the first Constitution and the first National Charter—a period in which the FLN was not in power and, not being in power, could play its role as spokesman for the masses and the Algerian people. I feel that the UGTA experienced its best moments during that period. It had freedom of action—freedom of movement—and the UGTA experienced democracy to the full. There were no workers' officials; there were workers' representatives. Then the party, came to power under a party/state formula. The FLN did in fact govern the country through men, and it cut itself off from the masses and became an excessively democratized body. As an indirect consequence, it bureaucratized the UGTA—Article 120? At no time were we gullible, nor were we manipulated as members of the FLN. We simply served the country's interests. We wanted to make our contribution to the building of this country, even if we had to feign credulity to the point of accepting directives from men in the FLN who represented a caste of profiteers far more than they did the FLN's members—that mass of young people, workers, and peasants. And we accepted directives from those men. And we enforced them. But we were never

naive. Article 120? We played the game. And I myself supported Article 120. Why? It was felt that Article 120 would rid the UGTA of all opportunists and extremists—those who were called extremists at the time because we did not want those workers to move toward extreme solutions (strikes). In the name of social peace, we accepted everything. But certain people wanted, and they said so, to bureaucratize the union, and against the will of the union leaders, they brought in men who did not represent the union leaders in any way, shape, or form because they had not been elected democratically. Those men used the union to defend narrow interests and took little interest in the interests of the workers. And to ensure a tighter hold on the UGTA and make it toe the line, the UGTA's democratic organization was dismantled. I said it then and I repeat it now: a union movement is first and foremost a certain number of occupational groups which organize and form themselves into interoccupational organizations. Above all, a union organization is a vertical structure. But that was not enough. Within the unit, it was not right to be content with the union council; above all, the workers should be allowed to participate through their shop stewards. But we were not supported at the time. We were even clamped down on. Also, whereas for us Article 120, at the same time that it made it possible to get rid of opportunistic or honest individuals [as published; text apparently missing], but since they wanted to proceed at 1,000 miles per hour while we wanted to be very cautious so as to strengthen our national economy (history will tell whether we were right or wrong), there was bureaucratization and, in order to drag on the union movement, elimination of the federations. It was from that point on that union democracy began to be demolished.

**REVOLUTION AFRICAINE:** Historically, it seems that the government's view of the union movement and especially the vertical structure began to be imposed in 1962. At the time, the party tolerated the federations pending the establishment of its own structures. After that, it consistently favored the horizontal over the vertical structure. In 1969, when we saw the draft reform of the union movement, the drawing up of a pseudocharter for the union, and the fabrication of a "made-to-order" congress for bringing the unions into line permanently, the concept remained the same. The attempts merely changed their form.

**Chaa Mohamed:** I would like to say for history, because I have never said it until now, that when the establishment of the UNPA [National Union of Algerian Peasants] was being discussed during the debate on the National Charter, I asked a high official why he wanted to split up the workers on the land and those in the factories. His answer, and I am quoting him word for word, was this: "Mr Chaa, would you like for us to create here a force that no one will be able to shake?" This fully confirms that since 1962, there has been no lack of attempts. But for the sake of history, it must be recognized that the strength of men—militants—imposed the strength of union (editor's note: the unions). Because it was not possible to eliminate the federations until 1969.

Hasni Rashid: For my part, I want to state that the workers do not understand the concept of the UGTA as an integral part of the government, because a recent televised round table on constitutional reform let many forces speak, but the UGTA, which represents 4 million workers and therefore—if we multiply that number by four, which is the average number of persons in a household—16 million Algerians, was not able to express itself. They even took the precaution of not answering a question on union autonomy that was asked during that round table, because they have refused so far to say exactly what will happen to the UGTA under the reforms. They talk ambiguously about relations of trust and political supervision, but the workers want to know whether the union organization is going to be autonomous. Because it must be said that we have gone from being representatives of the workers to being representatives of the government. And I want to say that the members of the National Council—to which I belonged—were sharply reprimanded and called troublemakers for having often denounced the challenging of the workers' principles and gains, but it now turns out that that minority of troublemakers was right to denounce the challenging of those principles and gains. In this connection, I say that if they are no longer talking about socialism, it must be that the challenging really occurred.

That being said, I feel that the political reforms entail changes in working methods and in the concept of unions. It is to be hoped that the union organization will now start a grass roots debate on structures and working methods. It is time to think about those things. Are we going to keep the UC's [communal unions] and UT's [territorial unions]? If we go back to the federations, will they hold their congresses according to their old divisions, or will there be a new structural concept? And since there is talk of Maghreb unity, shouldn't the organization start developing a class consciousness on the Maghreb and international levels to keep pace with mixed-economy projects, integration, and the prospects for the development of private domestic and foreign firms, mixed-economy firms, and even—why not?—multinational companies?

Benmazouz: In my opinion, we must refocus the debate on union democracy in terms of the reforms. We have a *de facto* situation which unfortunately has existed from independence until now and a new situation with the prospects contained in the draft Constitution. As workers, and regardless of the results the UGTA has produced, we are asking about our future. Should the UGTA be strengthened to make it a mobilizing organization that will keep all workers under the UGTA's wing, or should we submit? The law exists, so what will our future be? On the basis of that question, we must defend our gains within a legal framework. Consequently, our sole legitimate organization remains the UGTA. But we must continue our struggle to see that it gets rid of certain individuals who have lived only for themselves to the detriment of the working class. We have reached a point

where we must distinguish between those struggling for the interests of the workers and those who have grown fat and profited from certain privileges.

Dilmi Mohamed Tahar: I would like to go back to the question of relations within the union structures and with the administration. As we approach the 33d anniversary of the founding of the UGTA, we must not ignore the important gains we have made. In that connection, we must say that at specific stages, the UGTA has been solidly linked to the political power, because the workers were included in its political program and had an interest in implementing that program so as to build the socialist society defined by the National Charter of 1976. So now, under the new political deal, what will be the UGTA's starting point? In my opinion, a disunited UGTA cannot defend the authentic gains of the workers, which must be linked to the gains achieved by the people as a whole. This will be impossible if relations among the various authorities are not solid and solidary in the face of the government's will to divide the union. This leads me to resituate Article 120 in its context. Since it was adopted as a means of producing a unified vision within the framework of a unified political program, we feel—and we said so at the time—that it should also have been applied to the government administration.

Article 120 was applied to union cadres in a radical way. At the same time, some ministers instructed their administrative cadres to join the party. As a result, the party was emptied of its active and energetic members, whose views were not always shared. We must be realistic: the party accepted great numbers of administrative personnel who had no political position. That was a maneuver against the party. Moreover, when I talked about democracy in speech or in decisionmaking, the purpose was to ask whether the workers really exercised democracy in decisionmaking. Democracy in speech does in fact exist, but it is up to the union structures to practice democracy in decisionmaking. But when a general assembly decides one thing and a structure decides something else, democracy is unfairly subrogated. That is the result of practices by individuals and structures, and it is the reason for the current crisis in confidence. But seeing that there cannot be union democracy without a democratic environment, I note, after listening to the televised debates, that certain gains such as the democratization of education and free medical care are regarded by others as empty slogans, that that is a way of concealing the content of the National Charter, and that the citizens are aware of it. That being said, the question on which the future depends is whether a multiparty system leads to a system of multiple unions. And I say that if, after 24 February, the UGTA is able to eliminate certain ways of thinking, certain kinds of behavior, and certain working methods, and if it arms itself with a broad political vision, it will be the real force of the future. Because parties that are formed with a region or political trend as their base are doomed to fail. The UGTA will remain with its historical weight, its structures, its cadres, and their convictions, which cannot be taken away from them.

**REVOLUTION AFRICAINE:** Is union autonomy conceivable outside a purely corporatist framework or on the basis of a political program in a landscape that is going to be completely changed in the future as a result of Article 40?

Idir: In my opinion, the terms of the question of union autonomy are very simple. First, there is the open list, from top to bottom, to make the union the business of the workers—there must no longer be any supervision other than that exercised by the workers—the union program must be freely and democratically chosen, and it must include defense of the material and moral interests of the workers and defense of the public sector and the gains made. It was noted a moment ago that the word "socialism" does not appear in the new Constitution. We must not imagine things. We are still a long way from socialism. There are tasks to be done today. It is necessary to leave underdevelopment behind, build a solid economy, and reduce the country's dependence. The workers are attached to the socialist ideal, and the word "socialism" could at least have been included in the draft's preamble. That being said, Article 120 did a lot of harm. It made possible the elimination of convinced political and union militants, and in my opinion, we must continue the fight to keep that article from reappearing in a disguised form, because the time when the UGTA, the single workers' organization, will become autonomous is not just around the corner. We must not ignore the fact that there are forces which will continue to resist and to combat change in an underhand manner.

**REVOLUTION AFRICAINE:** It was said that at a given moment in history, the UGTA had been an integral part of the government on the basis of a program. But in the new situation, the program will change. It is already changing. In view of that new program, how will the UGTA speak and what form will its representation of the workers take?

Chaa Mohamed: Let us try to imagine the UGTA of the future. First of all, there is unity, which is the seat of worker strength. How can it be preserved? There are also the preoccupations and the way they will be expressed in the future. Will the union be corporatist with narrow vision or will it be a union aware that we are an underdeveloped country starting off to conquer democracy while other countries are conquering Mars? On the question of union unity—and with apologies to the brother—I never said that I regretted my stand on Article 120; I said that there were people who went beyond that article to be obliging: that there were people who opposed the article at the start but who enforced it with excessive zeal once they became officials in the FLN. We need a break with the past. Let us no longer witness the shadowy side of socialism—those colossal fortunes that have been made in this country. They were not even made by capitalist means—otherwise I would accept them—but by stealing. And it is disgusting that in the press and on television, people who have an accounting to give, who were themselves officials and members

of the Executive Secretariat at some point, and who amassed fortunes are forgetting that colonialism created egalitarianism in poverty in this country. We were all on an equal footing in 1962. By what mystery have people become billionaires in the space of 10 years in the shadow of socialism, whereas under the liberal regimes, under the most uncontrolled liberalism of the United States, and with men of genius having started with nothing, it has taken people decades to make their first billion? In this area, we definitely need a break with the past—with a certain type of socialism which has made those fortunes possible. What we are going to gain from the multiparty system is that the FLN will become the authentic FLN Party that we have experienced as militants and whose militants we have remained, even though we have rubbed shoulders with people who have nothing in common with the FLN but live within it. To get back to the union, I say be careful. Including only corporatism in our program would be dangerous because, above all other considerations, our future as workers is tied to the state-owned enterprises, they alone being capable of enabling Algeria to bridge the gap between rich and poor countries—if doing so is not in fact a utopian dream. So defend the interests of the workers, but also the interests of the country. If we dissociate things, we will be easy prey to future parties because we agreed to be a corporatist and apolitical union. To begin with, as far as I know, there is no such thing as an apolitical union.

Yacoubi Boualem: But can there be a multiparty system on the one hand and a single union on the other?

Chaa Mohamed: Yes! In the union, there is no contradiction or clash of interests among us. There are not people on the right and people on the left. We have the same interests. But it is wrong to say that a union can be completely autonomous. The union is an active part of a program or political party without being organically linked to it and without being subjected to it to the point of submitting to its diktats as has been the case until now. Of course, the UGTA will naturally be linked to the FLN as long as the FLN continues—until 23 February, because after that it will be the FLN Party—to have a component in keeping with the National Charter (workers, peasants, young people, and so on), as long as it includes socialism, Islam, and national unity among its demands and purges its structures of regionalism, self-interest, and so on—and as long as the UGTA and the other organizations play an active part in the FLN's decisionmaking and are part of its program. Now, how can unity be achieved? I don't think there are any rightwing people in the UGTA, but there are the different varieties of the traditional Left that we all know about, and as a group, they have points of agreement and the same interests. It would be tragic if one of those components of the Left tried to break that unity of the union movement—if it is restored in that movement, at all levels of its hierarchy and in its decisionmaking. And here I propose to our brothers on the National Council, who are our representatives, that they sponsor a big



conference of all the brothers who have given their lives to the UGTA to discuss ways and means of creating all the conditions for a future congress on union unity. This would enable the UGTA, by its own efforts and within the FLN, to combat all those people who have scores to settle with the FLN [text garbled] allegiances with Algeria.

Haddad Said: In my opinion, very widespread explanations at the rank-and-file level will be necessary to give the FLN credibility. We must not limit ourselves to televised discussions: we must go to the rank and file and explain the events of 5 October and even the draft Constitution.

Chaa Mohamed: I think it will take a great deal of time to analyze the background to the events of 5 October and the objectives and viewpoints involved, because I don't believe that the young people who went out to demolish—destroy—the shopping centers, police stations, and ministries are against socialism. What are the motivations, and who benefits from those events? And since the events began in Bab El Oued on Tuesday, why is it that the targeted kasbas were not hit until Thursday?

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: Let us stay within the terms of the debate, if you don't mind: democracy, autonomy, and the reforms.

Yacoubi Boualem: It must not be forgotten that at one time, the union struggle was very tough for us in the port. To belong to the union, you had to be a member of the party and submit to its leadership.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: Whose leadership?

Yacoubi Boualem: That of the central union. There was a time when I was called a "harki" [veteran who had served in the French Armed Forces], even though I was born on 22 May 1958. There was a time when they would not even see us at the central union. They even incited us to go on strike—they imposed the single list consisting solely of party members on us. And I say that some of those officials were mixed up in the events of 5 October.

Ghanem Ahmed: The elections in the port were conducted democratically. We began struggling in December 1987 to get our demands accepted. All the central authorities and the union bodies were informed in writing that the elections would be held.

The documents still exist, and they prove it. They are in our possession. On 4 October, I personally went to the secretariat of the General Union of Workers. The situation in the country had taken a dramatic turn.

That was why we wanted to explain that we were not there to make threats or to take advantage of the circumstances of the moment. It was just that our action, which had begun 7 or 8 months earlier not only at the Permanent Secretariat but also in the communal union, had

met with no response. We left nothing to chance. We were then told that we had to select 4 of the 25 union leaders to be received on Saturday morning. We went back on Wednesday. The situation was turbulent. We did not go to the UGTA Permanent Secretariat on Saturday as scheduled. We refused to do so, because it had become necessary to set up a system for watching and defending the port, which was threatened on all sides. We defended that port night and day from attacks that came chiefly from the fishery and Belcourt, their purpose being to set the place on fire. It was too dangerous because gas, electricity, and heating oil pass through the port. If it blew up, we would all lose our lives. We were also taking into account the general interest of the country and the national economy. But once calm was restored, we asked—on 15 November—that a general assembly, which in fact was what we had been trying to achieve for 7 months, be held in the presence of the union representatives and the authorities concerned. The purpose of that general assembly was to settle the issues that had been raised. It may be that the workers or the union were wronged. It may also be that the administration did not respond to certain of our demands.

They were incapable of organizing a general assembly. Finally, because we persisted, the members of the central union agreed to participate in a meeting at which the old workers' assembly was dissolved. A provisional committee was immediately set up. Two of its members are present here among us.

After that, we held numerous meetings—12 in all—in all the cells. Those meetings were boycotted by the central union. The action program that you have before you was drawn up. Elections were held on 15 January. Although they were again invited, the members of the central union refused to attend. Those elections were held using the system of the open list, which those members reject, saying that the provisions of Article 120-121 must be complied with. That repeated refusal did not prevent the holding of free elections. This is proven by the fact that four newly elected representatives had been members of the former union team.

From the beginning to the end of the process, we were constantly concerned to respect the law. With a view to installing the new union assembly, we knocked on every door from the unions at the communal, governorate, and territorial levels up to the central union itself. Everywhere we went, all we got was shilly-shallying and obstacles.

Despite that, no one made the necessary effort to attend the installation of the newly elected representatives, which we had decided to hold on Tuesday no matter what. So we went back to the central union. There, sensible people such as Belatreche and Abdelhamid talked reasonably and invited us to come back on Wednesday to postpone the final installation of the autonomous port union.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: That was on 15 January?

Ghanem: No, no. The Union Assembly was finally installed on 8 February. From that time on, we began receiving pamphlets signed by Filali in person.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: Can you provide us with a copy?

Ghanem: Of course. Finally, having run out of arguments, those individuals attacked us with that famous saying among us: "Laab Hmid, Rasham Hmida" [translation unknown]. Those arguments, completely unfounded, have a specific meaning, because my name is actually Hmida, and I was also in charge of supervising the polling station. I myself took the report to Filali, who refused to accept it. Aside from the spying done by two of our workers, Filali started telling us his "life story" and engaging in superficial talk. I then asked him to put his seal on the file I had brought to him. That was the end of it.

Hasni: Mr Ziane, you brought up the problem of representatives and union structures. That was the first question raised. I find it very pertinent because it has always been posed in the union organization. I want to go back to the sixth congress and the pre-congress in the Center. This being the hour of democracy—that word so much in vogue now—I will speak freely. Each of us must be judged by our actions when we were officials before, because now it is possible to join the chorus, enter the democratic sphere, and co-opt that movement. People must be asked what they did when they were officials. That leads me to say that during those pre-congresses, I spoke and expressed my opinion. I said at the time that it was necessary to stop quarreling over the union and take a stand in favor of a return to the federations. If the federations are not brought back, there will be no union that cannot be self-sufficient with horizontal structures and the beefing up of ministries with overmanned secretariats of state. That would amount to undermining one wing of the organization and could not successfully serve the worker's moral and material interests. I am very comfortable saying this today. Back then I was reprimanded. I say that during the congress, I was one of those who supported the present National Secretariat over against the other mass organizations such as the UNJA [National Union of Algerian Youth] because, as Chaa said a moment ago, we must go back to the context of stages. We were witnessing the challenging of the workers' gains: pensions, social security, transportation, consumer cooperatives, mutual benefit societies, and the CMS [expansion unknown]. You no doubt remember. You know who was responsible for the task of challenging the workers' gains. It was dangerous for us to appoint young people lacking experience at that time. Practically everything was blamed—the drop in the price of a barrel of petroleum, the devaluation of the dollar, the economic crisis, austerity, the environment, and so on. They dragged out all the adjectives to tell us that in view of the situation, it was necessary to return the CMS to the

Ministry of Health, close the cooperatives, and buy back the pensions. In short, we lost all our gains. It was felt that in this crucial phase, and in comparison with the other mass organizations, it was necessary to keep the National Secretariat so as to save what remained to be saved.

Personally, I support a representative union more than a union based on regional balance. It could be that El-Hadjar, Berrouaghia, the CVI [expansion unknown], and the port represent Algerian workers. Considered from the geographical angle, the union movement cannot solve union problems, even though input by individuals from all backgrounds permits a clearer view. Even if one is not a supporter of control by the workers, it must be said that when an enterprise is performing well, there is no hesitation in calling the official in charge a good manager. But when there is a deficit or a shortcoming because of some clogging of the machinery or other AGI [expansion unknown], then there is talk of an absence of conscientiousness and zeal on the part of the workers.

In any case, as far as I am concerned, a multiparty system in no way means union pluralism. The UGTA's acronym says it well. It is a union which is open to all workers. Since there is talk about sensibilities, let us take the example of the CGT [French General Confederation of Workers], which includes Socialists, Communists, Christians, and independents. One can belong to the PCF [French Communist Party] while belonging to the CGT. The same applies to independents. In the interest of budding democracy, it is appropriate to strengthen the UGTA and to respect all sensibilities, which must be expressed within the UGTA. The stronger, more united, and more interdependent one is in a great union, the clearer the question of classes will become. Dividing the union's ranks in the current situation carries the risk of making it weaker.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: The movement as it is taking shape at the rank-and-file level is not antagonistic to the oneness of the union.

Hasni: Yes, yes. I agree.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: Others interpret it differently.

Hasni: I agree. Concerning the draft Constitution, I have said that we have not participated as an organization. That reminds me of a story you have certainly run across in the shopping centers. It involves concomitant sales. There is a shortage of potatoes. So you come home with carrots, too. You have the choice. Should you buy or not? I myself will buy because I need potatoes to feed my children. Faced with the choice of a multiparty system, which will also bring democracy and freedom of expression, well, I will buy and vote yes for the Constitution. And I would gladly take turnips and carrots.



I would like to add a word about Article 120. There are few union officials who, although accepting union discipline and defense of the moral and material interests of the workers and although close to the workers, have not had dossiers compiled about them. There are few officials in the country who have escaped being written up in an information file of that kind. I tell you frankly—and some day union history will be written, as Chaa says—there are union leaders who have lost their reason after giving their all, who have sacrificed themselves and cashed in their chips. They finally realize that the truth has been hidden from them. They realize that other forces were responsible and that those forces are now rejecting socialism on TV.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: Rashid, there is one question you have not discussed. You spoke about structures, Article 120 in connection with the component...

Ghania: What is happening in the port of Algiers and elsewhere in the country.... I have just come back from Oran, and I could see the extent of the movement. In Saida, Relizane, and Mostaganem. It is a movement which one cannot call irreversible, but it is powerful in any case. How can one describe the attitude of the official union bodies from top to bottom? Are they ready to yield to these democratic requests, or what will their attitude be? At the moment, there are no representatives of those union bodies who have dealt with them.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: That does not apply only to the union. It is true of all the structures. Even those of the FLN Party. I discovered on the spot—I have just returned from Tiaret—that there are dangerous excesses. The question which Ghania wants to raise is: can one make new things out of old? Hasni spoke just now about the structures and the component consisting of structures and Article 120. Article 120 is not the only thing. Well, Article 120 has been abolished. It is no longer enforced. What is to be done? Can it be that the question of representativeness has quite simply been settled? There is in fact the matter of Article 120. But there is also the way things are done in practice. At the last meeting by the Union Council, it took a struggle to expand the list to include three candidates for each seat. As Idir said, the open list is not just around the corner. There are rank-and-file demands, structures, methods, practices, and the people in office. That is where the contradiction lies.

Chaa: The explosion taking place in the Algerian press is the same as that in the union. In recent months, we have seen a wave of protest which seems new because it is being underscored and brought to the attention of public opinion. Wherever there are strikes, people are demanding the head of the general manager. So far, I wonder whether an analysis of the union movement has been made. Looking back after 14 years as national secretary, I have asked myself if this is new. No, it is not new. Why? In 1971, there was GSE [Socialist Management of Businesses], which guaranteed worker participation in economic and cultural life and so on. At the time, the

illiteracy rate was close to 80 percent. Today it is on the order of 15 percent. Second, the workers came mainly from the agricultural sector. After 20 years, they have become a proletariat with occupational experience. The result, even in the proletarian phase, was that most managers—whom I salute in other respects—saw in the assemblies a means of liquidating the union movement, being guided as they were by the government executive apparatus. That meant setting the ATU's [Plant Workers Assemblies] and ATE's [Enterprise Workers Assemblies] against the union movement as a whole. It must be said that when the assemblies were being set up, worker participation was limited to the disciplinary committees. Period. The workers were considered incapable of reflecting on economic issues. Apparently a matter of levels. They also trapped us by confining us to charitable work. Be content with charitable work and the disciplinary committee, they told us. Economic matters? No. No backers. They also did everything they could to cut the ATU's off from the workers. How? By means as Machiavellian and extreme as they were obvious and ridiculous—if nothing else, by putting the union office next to the general manager's office. An office like that is closed to the workers 24 hours a day. That is the famous enterprise union office. Now there is an explosion by the people. The enemy is the general manager. Sometimes—and here I am weighing my words—there are excesses. The overall situation in the country demanded it. It is the reaction of someone who has suffered all his life. It must not last forever. It is necessary to think of the future. The union must become a genuine union.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: For that to happen, the union will have to be returned to the workers...

Chaa: That is what I am saying. I would even give the conditions...

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: We mean that on the one hand, a process of economic and political reforms has been pushed since the start of the 1980's, but without anyone's considering it useful to consult the workers in the plants and the agricultural estates. And on the other hand, there has been a clear reluctance to set up autonomous unions. What exactly do they want? Aren't union reforms tolerated?

Chaa: That would be serious. First of all, the union will be only what the workers want it to be. It would be serious if the country were to evolve while the union lagged behind.

Hasni: The constructive union making demands...

Chaa: I'm getting to that. I'm getting to that. The union has become bureaucratized...

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: That is a decoy.

Hasni: Excuse me. I want to put a word in, Chaa. The constructive union which makes no demands is a slogan that has had its day. The president of the republic announced the forms for the economic management of enterprises in Presidential Instruction No 47. In the UGTA, two phases of implementation saw the light of day, but the second phase was never really carried out.

Why? To take the CVI as an example, I personally was secretary general of the Boumerdes Governorate, and I organized 97 general assemblies. We drew up a report by workshop, manager, and union representative at the last meeting; an overall report summarizing all the general assemblies was prepared. It was sent to political, government, and union officials. That report was never studied or accepted because in some workshops, we had counted no fewer than 97 machines as being out of order. Preparations were made for privatizing the enterprises with the argument that the workers were loafers. New trucks and gearboxes disappeared from the CVI. I put forward written arguments in that report. I was told that the UGTA should keep files on everything. I have files on SIGMA [expansion unknown] and the CVI. What led us to talk here today about union democracy and the failure to implement it? We have been told: the UGTA is dead; long live the UGTA. What is really dead: the UGTA of apparatuses or that of the workers? There are two UGTA's.

Idir: From the article published in ALGERIE-ACTUALITE, I understood that it was the UGTA of the apparatus and of antidemocratic practices which was dead.

Hasni: On 8 February, the day when the ATE was installed at central union headquarters, the workers from the port of Algiers cheered the UGTA. That is why I persist in believing that we are faced with a reality—a fact: there is the past and there is the future. What can we do to be a part of the reforms while maintaining the union organization? That is the objective and the reform to which we must respond as workers.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: We would like something clarified. The break with the past: if we are going to talk about it, we must talk about it in its full dimension. The break with the past means a break with union practices and perhaps a certain kind of union commitment. We said at the start that the UGTA, being an integral part of the government, is a decoy. Should we follow this path by means of the union's acts and words or make a clean break? There is a desire for disengagement—practice will show us this in the field. Is the union movement heading straight for another disengagement? In other words, GSE, effective worker participation...

Chaa: The UGTA must go back to its roots. I would not use the word "break." The UGTA has workers' representatives at all levels and apparatuses which lead and make decisions. In short, everything we have talked

about so far: an interoccupational organization for problems of interest to the entire world of labor and a vertical organization for the problems specific to each sector. That is the general physiognomy. The political break must be made instead in the direction of the supervising bodies. No more supervising bodies. In the case of the multiparty system, the UGTA will be active in a party whose program meets its aspirations. In the future, the FLN will include those aspirations in its program, and the UGTA will be an active partner. But it will not wait on the outside for decisions to be made. That is how I see things.

On the economic level, the UGTA must break with the past. Who has paid the bill for austerity so far? The workers. Enough is enough. We have borne the brunt from 1962 to 1989. There are people making billions while the workers are sternly watched for the couple of pennies they earn. Enough is enough. I am speaking for myself personally: austerity borne solely by the workers is over. It should be general and based on national solidarity. When that happens, we will have a lot to say about colossal fortunes, regionalism, and clannishness. It all fits together.

In that respect, the UGTA has broken completely with the past. Now when I talk about GSE—not at the level of dictated forms (the associative form of the RFA [expansion unknown])—we must also be careful not to fall into a narrow corporatist game. Because the UGTA is unconsciously contributing to the dismantling of the socialist sector, which I prefer to call the public sector. There are already signs of it. We have never been opposed to the productive private sector. But when it comes to the parasitic and mercenary private sector—the sector of deals and treachery—the UGTA must take a firm stand and must not remain mute as it has in the past.

In the public sector, the UGTA must carry out its twofold mission of defending the moral and material interests of the workers and defending the public sector—something it has never done. That is where the subtle difference lies. So far, the UGTA has ignored the moral and material interests of the workers on the pretext of defending the public sector.

Idir: On the subject of union autonomy and the autonomy of the UGTA, I agree with brother Chaa. One cannot militate in favor of union autonomy in the absolute. The UGTA is not an isolated body detached from social realities and what is happening in the country among young people and women and in the public sector. I said a while ago that the UGTA which I as a worker want is a single union organization that will really defend the moral and material interests of the workers, bring the workers together, and ensure their unity. But on one essential condition: democracy. In other words, the workers must freely choose their representatives. That is not sufficient in itself, because we must not confine ourselves solely to the aspects of autonomy itself. I also assign to autonomy this content:

the UGTA—which is the workers' concern—must defend the public sector and national independence and campaign for and defend everything that can bring social and democratic progress to this country. When that happens, we workers in the UGTA will each have our own opinions in free debate, but strictly from the standpoint of defense of the moral and material interests of the workers, the public sector, and national independence. At that point, as brother Hasni said, one can be Islamist and Communist.

Ghania Hammadou: Why are there people who fear union democracy if it combines the principle of unity with defense of the public sector? Are there union leaders today who oppose the democratization of the union?

Idir: I make a distinction. I don't break off dialogue with them, and I do my best to distinguish those who are blinded by petty interests and have been led into error. On the other hand, there are those who oppose union democratization out of conviction, based on a political program, and want to divide the workers. I see and make the distinction. But I engage in dialogue with certain officials who I know to be defenders of the public sector and, at a certain stage, the moral and material interests of the workers—that is their weakness. Dialogue is possible. I tell them: don't cut off the branch you are sitting on.

Chaa: There are honest union leaders who defend the public sector to the detriment of the moral and material interests of the workers.

Aziouez Mokhtari: I have a question to ask. I have started a study of the port of Algiers. It also seems to me that just because we are participating in this round table with pals, we should not come up with the wrong assessment, otherwise we will keep doing what we have always done until the explosion comes...

Chaa: That is serious for the country.

Aziouez Mokhtari: I'm sorry, Mr Chaa. When it comes down to it, I am an ardent defender of the public sector. There is no merit in my saying that, because it is a question of survival. That being the case, if we accept the democratic game, there is no more point in playing the guardian and saying that the UGTA must become this or the UGTA must become that. I have complete confidence in the ability of the workers to analyze things, and the UGTA will become what they want it to be. If the workers do not want a public sector, the UGTA cannot impose a public sector on them by force. Experience has proven that the best decrees in the world are easily broken and very easily challenged. We are entering a new era with its advantages and disadvantages. What will happen to the workers in this clear political game that will take shape on 24 February? The state will no longer defend socialism through the UGTA. So analyses coming down from above have little chance of success. The

political one-upmanship which has socialism as its objective, notably in the higher spheres of the UGTA, is not concerned with defending the socialism that has been under attack for a long time, but only with their personal interests. From the moment when Communist militants, extreme leftwing parties, and nationalists began to be excluded in the name of socialism, no one has lifted a finger. I have not heard anyone tell the party's top officials no. On the other hand, I have heard the UGTA speak in the name of the government on several occasions. They are the people who have excluded everyone from the UGTA. Generally, the best thinking and the best choices have always come from the rank and file once the rank and file are given freedom of action. A great deal of self-criticism is in order.

Chaa: At the very start of this debate....

Aziouez Mokhtari: Besides putting forward their actual demands, people are currently placing the blame on management cadres and especially the general managers. I can tell you that is wrong.

Idir: As far as I am concerned, I would not like to either condemn or disapprove of the workers. I simply want to say that the workers who have called for the removal of management cadres had objective reasons for doing so. It is not because they don't like them. No. It was arbitrary behavior and contempt which led them to act in that way. The general manager who sits in his office and decides everything himself and sometimes behaves in an authoritarian way and uses fascist methods is naturally challenged. Take the pump and valve factor in Berrouaghia as an example. The workers demanded the manager's removal. But he was a good manager, patriotic and very honest. He wanted his complex to function and succeed. But he used authoritarian methods.

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: Idir, I believe you mentioned objective reasons for demands. I agree with you. The SGT [General Workers Statute] has posed a lot of problems.

Idir: The workers also have dignity. In the port, in the action program adopted at our general assembly, we said on that subject that we were calling upon the general management to engage in dialogue and trust the workers, be open to their demands, banish authoritarian and arbitrary behavior, make the problems known, and ask the workers' opinion. I feel that there are many managers who can in fact operate in that manner. So why call for the removal of the general manager, as some people are trying to do? Positive and intelligent, "marhaba."

REVOLUTION AFRICAINE: Concerning this phenomenon of challenging managers, some people feel that since most of them are technocrats, they are simply serving an economic project that is far from reflecting a defense of the public sector. It is not only the arbitrary aspect which has predominated.



**Idir:** The case of the pump and valve factory in Berrouaghia speaks for itself. Its production is up by almost 120 percent. That is due to the workers. Among us in the port, the workers do not want the warehouses and everything connected with handling to someday go back to domestic or foreign private owners. Awareness is very clear on that point. Indeed, they they will throw out anyone who makes himself vulnerable in that respect. That is precisely what you have just said.

**Chaa:** The worker has never felt that the management apparatus was on his side to defend this sector tooth and nail. I believe there is that dimension in addition to the human one. We must also get rid of the slogan which, on the pretext of defending the public sector, has made the worker subject to everyone's beck and call. It could have been done already if the management apparatus had been at his side and defended the public sector with the same conviction. That is the political dimension. But as soon as this matter of dismantling the sector becomes the business of the workers alone, they are naturally at odds with the apparatus and the management councils. It is also true that the private sector has gotten involved in the situation, since it wants to demonstrate that the workers oppose the public sector. This is a truth which we hear in the street and, I believe, even on television. A process of winning people over is currently underway.

**Benmazouz:** We have noticed that the unrest in the working masses has been expressed in various phases. First there was Law 82, which introduced new labor relations. On the one hand, the worker is being asked to increase production and productivity. On the other hand, the regulations are such that if he goes all out, he is running risks. If there is an industrial injury or sickness, he is demoted. That obsessive fear has led the worker to stop and think before throwing himself completely into his work, because he does not want to be thrown into poverty and hunger. So the risks are calculated.

Tacked onto that is the question of the SGT [General Workers' Statute], which was enforced more subjectively than objectively, at least in the beginning, in certain very specific sectors. In the mind of the worker, the SGT was supposed to establish a balance, but in fact there have been terrible—really terrible—IDR's [expansion unknown]. That is what caused an internal explosion. The law implementing the SGT dates from 1978. But the first implementing measures were not applied until 1985, even though the situation between those two dates had changed completely.

The SGT has therefore had a negative effect by assigning IDR's of over 2,000 dinars to certain worker levels.

**Chaa:** Speaking of the SGT, let us go back to history. I say that it has been diverted from its true mission. The UGTA's concern was this: it was necessary, as a matter of national solidarity and in a socialist society, to put an end to the spread between the lowest and highest wages,

which ranged from a ratio of 1:20 and 1:30 to 1:40. That was the basic idea. In capitalist countries, that spread scarcely ever exceeds a ratio of 1:8 in the best of cases. Under no circumstances should the same formula be applied to the direct productive sector and the civil service.

Within that spread, the enterprise must be given room to maneuver. In my opinion, the diversion occurred when those at the top tried to codify all job positions and assign a nationwide grading to every job. No highly developed country in the world has managed to achieve that even though technological advances are creating several new jobs every day. If the room to maneuver that I mentioned existed, there would be dialogue between worker and enterprise to find appropriate solutions to the problems encountered in the field. But that has not happened because the SGT was "frozen."

**Hasni:** I have another point of view on that issue. Importing a Czechoslovak model with regard to policy while not also importing Czechoslovak purchasing power falls into the domain of the unworkable. In Algeria, the value of the rate classification must define the typical budget for each family. Job classification will not do as much harm as the cost of the "market basket," which is far above the interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage. You can establish as many job grades as you want, but if a supply of staple products is not guaranteed, street demonstrations are the only possible recourse.

In the UGTA, we tried to identify the budget of an average family or the cost of the market basket, and that was divided to determine the effective rate classification providing us with a given wage. When the problem was approached on that basis, we did not accept it because they were talking to us about financial incidence. Among other things, the worker was supposed to bear the cost of austerity and develop the private sector.

**Idir:** That question is not out of date because it is inherent in the actual day-to-day life of the workers and their sole source of income: wages. In all the strikes that occurred in November and January, one of the workers' main demands was that the SGT be applied more fairly and that everything done so far be revamped.

**Ghania Hammadou:** What I want to say is this: aren't such questions as the autonomy of the enterprises or the SGT as it relates to wage organization old debates today?

**Chaa:** You are mistaken. We must stop wallowing in theory. That is the truth, and it is what constitutes the break with the past. If the 1976 Constitution had been enforced to the letter—and I am not saying that it was perfect, only the Koran is perfect—we would not be in this situation. It is because that Constitution was not enforced at all that we have reached this outrageous phase. The Constitution that will be approved on the 23d is not yet a fact. It will be when it is enforced.

Ghania Hammadou: But autonomy.... Listen, it was the UGTA itself which said yes to the reforms on behalf of the workers.

Chaa: Without consulting them.

Ghania Hammadou: Without consulting them, but it said yes all the same. Listen, there are about 60 autonomous enterprises. As far as GSE is concerned, the CDE [expansion unknown] has been stripped of its functions. The duties formerly assigned to the CDE have been assigned to the DG [expansion unknown]. That is what exists.

Idir: Concerning the SGT, be careful. On this subject, if we say that all evils are due to implementation of the SGT, we may be wrong. One of the big problems, as Hasni said a moment ago, is that we tried to restore fairness among the workers without being concerned at the same time about a fair distribution of national income. Secondly, there was the matter of democracy. I will take one example, that of life itself. Many workers complain of being in grade 10 or 12 or of being demoted to grade 8 or 10 even though they have made money. One man came to me even though he had gotten a raise amounting to 1,050 dinars. He wouldn't budge an inch because he had been in grade 12 but was now in grade 11. No matter how much explaining I did, he did not want to understand. Why? The SGT was drawn up and implemented without the worker and without democracy.

Concerning GSE, there is no question of rejecting the whole thing. It just needs to be said that the UGTA, the workers' organization, was deceived. The union backed down. Many patriotic cadres were deceived. This situation must be clarified now that we are in a phase of autonomy and democracy. Otherwise we will find ourselves back where we were before, with a union acting as manager. We need to clarify these things in connection with defense of the moral and material interests of the workers and in connection with the need to defend the public sector.

Benmazouz: To have that right of defense, we must have an extraordinary organization. How? We should think about what that organization will be in the future because if we leave it the way it is now, its results will be known in advance. There is total rejection by the workers and desertion of the union. The workers no longer trust this organization. Not as a union, but they distrust certain of its representatives. How do you expect this union to be representative when x number of illiterates are being imposed on us in 1989?

Chaa: Many were disqualified.

Benmazouz: Also, how do you expect to see an open mind toward GSE when the Economic and Financial Committee is headed by someone who has not the slightest notion of accounting? Let us be honest.

Chaa: The situation in 1989 is not that of 1970. "Thank God," the rate has now been reversed. We have an illiteracy rate of about 15 percent. Among workers, 20 years of work have paid off. I am not talking about educated people—the union is not just something for educated people. We certainly need them, and they are important. The other components must also be taken into account. Many were disqualified. That is why I propose the holding of a national conference of all union leaders, regardless of their opinions, to begin a broad debate before the congress. I feel that we should not go straight to the congress without first holding that conference, which is not intended to challenge those in office. In any case, since the multiparty system exists, the parties are not going to give us anything free. Each one is going to try, first of all, to break this union organization and monopolize the people's organizations. That is a fact. We should not play into the hands of the parties; instead, we should aim at building and strengthening our organization. We have spent 5 hours discussing these details and the type of union, with the provision that this type, unitary and not unanimist, will have to play an active part in political affairs.

Idir: I agree completely with brother Chaa's appeal. We must do everything possible today to broaden the possibilities and areas for dialogue. We all have a common interest: to build an organization that will really be representative and whose operation will be democratic. Just one remark: a conference at the top is not enough....

Chaa: Its purpose is to review the situation.

Idir: We all want that conference. We are in favor of renewing the national union. At the rank-and-file level, I hope we can encourage and fight for the open list so that there will be democratic elections and a representative union. On the subject of the multiparty system, I don't think the problem should be presented as you have presented it. The problem in the future will be how to stop a common enemy: underdevelopment and those who want to perpetuate it. In other words, the multinationals, the big foreign banks, and the worldwide capitalist system.

We must not be afraid of political parties. We must have dialogue. The only ones we cannot have dialogue with are the multinationals, their representatives, and, to use a hackneyed expression, imperialism. In that context, we must do everything possible to meet, discuss, and talk with our adversaries, who are still blind and reject the open list.

Ghania: Provisions are being made for the autonomous union at the rank-and-file level. You said that I opposed the holding of a top-level conference to decide on the principles underlying this renewed UGTA. But out where the battle for renewal is taking place, how does the worker view the union? What content does he assign to that union?



Idir: I said I did not support anything resembling a conference imposed from above....

Chaa: This is a conference, not a congress.

Idir: I support a framework for discussion.

Ghania: I just came back from Oran. I saw rank-and-file union leaders who have a clear vision and who have worked out the principles for the union they want. They say: an autonomous unitary union that will make demands and be patriotic and democratic. They are developing all those principles which have been worked out in the units.

Idir: As far as the port is concerned, I could not tell you the principles of democratic and union life contained in the new ATU's action program. But it is a union which is very attached not only to the firm defense of the interests of the workers and their mobilization to increase production but also to democratization and the strengthening of the public sector. What appeared in ALGERIE-ACTUALITE is part of those principles and that program; it is a living reality in the port. It is also necessary to build on that foundation and on the basis of the UGTA's strengths and weaknesses.

Hasni: It did the right thing in tackling the question. Ideas are taking shape concerning the future of the UGTA. That question raises another problem. What is actually happening in the field? There are many padlocked doors in the apparatuses. We are certainly not the ones who make the decisions. But democracy will be achieved with the executive body now in place. Someone mentioned union renewal. With regard to transparency, the press has a big role to play because the crisis in the port cannot be described as an isolated phenomenon. Several militants in the country have assigned great significance to the struggle in the port. The Malika article had a lot of impact. The press and REVOLUTION AFRICAINE in particular would help a lot by reporting on the congresses of the UC's, UT's, and governorate unions and disclosing the context in which those congresses take place. For example, the Arzew industrial zone is a place where traditions of union struggle are well known and clear. In certain governorates where there are no industrial centers, it is difficult in practice to find a platform for struggle.

Chaa: That is not something new. What is new is that the media talk about those things now. There was that entire period of strikes in Algeria when the media were muzzled.

Hasni: I would like to say this. A UGTA Congress was postponed five times in Boumerdes. They were trying to keep the old commitment—under Article 120—of party cells in the next congress. In principle, the press should report such practices. There are the events of 5 October, a party congress, and a party which is gone. In all logic, the elections should be carried out democratically. It

may be that the congress will take place. I assure you that the workers at the CVI, despite all their struggles, have from four to four and a half delegates out of a quota of delegates that has remained a secret so far. It is desirable from now on that congresses of union bodies be held in terms of struggles in the field. One cannot come back with updated lists that were put together in a party cell 2 or 3 years ago. Especially in an industrial zone like the CVI, Arzew, or the port.

Chaa: There is something I forgot. Let us get back to the Constitution. There are two articles on the right to strike, the second of which lists restrictions. This is normal practice: in every country in the world, restrictions are placed on certain sensitive sectors. It is equally normal for those restrictions to be discussed with the union. Even in the formulas for strikes, the legislator must certainly create the necessary conditions for strikes. Here again, there is a break with the past. In the future, the union should have its say on those two very important aspects of the question: forms of restrictions and legislative formulas.

Hasni: Along those same lines, the lethargy that has surrounded certain legal texts needs to be pointed out. I feel that the law on union rights has made progress since the fifth congress. They have been waiting for an unfavorable economic situation so as to submit a scrawny document to the APN [National People's Assembly] then.

I have the impression that documents need to be revised since 24 November. We all know that texts are worth only as much as the people responsible for implementing them.

Benmazouz: The Algiers Port Enterprise has played a positive role in this emerging union democracy. Free elections were held. It was the workers who actually organized the elections. So what do you think of the results of 8 February?

Hasni: I followed the elections in the port through the press. I also had the good fortune to meet with the brothers. Everyone is satisfied with the results of 8 February. In fact, it was a historic achievement which will enable others to organize themselves on the same basis. For your information, important struggles are going on at El Hadjar. They have not received coverage. In the port of Algiers, the supervising ministry and management took the side of the workers. This is not true everywhere else. In other words, what it boils down to is that if the same demand for an autonomous union is made in other sectors, I doubt very much if the ministries will go along with it, as the ministry did in the case of the port. I doubt it very much.

Benmazouz: Actually, what we can say is that the port is a strategic activity in the national economy. The Sixth FLN Party Congress has been held. A number of responsibilities and decisions were the result. The separation of

powers in the state and the mass institutions was established. A new government has been set up with an emergency program for its first phase and an action program approved by the APN. An enterprise as important as the port might have a direct or indirect influence on the success of the government program. The workers are aware of the role they currently play. If the Algiers Port Directorate and the supervising ministry considered it advisable to facilitate our task, the reason was their awareness of the blockage we could cause. Such a blockage would be unfortunate from the standpoint of both staple products and raw materials. That made the choice simple. We were allowed to organize free elections. Results were officially proclaimed and ratified by the central union. Generally speaking, the chosen goal was achieved. We want the authorized opinion of certain people who are in a better position than we are to analyze this phase. In all conscience, we feel that we satisfied the necessary conditions and requisite criteria for making those elections both historic and according to regulation. We actually took charge of the elections using an open list, and the workers supported us fully. For the first time in the port of Algiers, the votes were counted publicly.

Chaa: How many candidates were there?

Benmazouz: A total of 159 out of 4,553.

Idir: I can give you very exact figures. There were 14 withdrawals in favor of other candidates and 10 voluntary withdrawals.

**REVOLUTION AFRICAINE:** In this sphere of democratization, the key idea is this: the union must be given back to the workers. When that is done, should the men and organizations now in place be retained? What other form of organization will be needed?

Benmazouz: Based on our experience in the port of Algiers, we appealed to the local bodies. It is unfortunate to have to say this, and history will take note of it. No one deigned to be among us or even to show up for the sake of putting in an appearance. How do you expect a favorable follow-up or useful discussion with people like that? Because of the standard achieved by the workers, we have never broken off dialogue, the only condition being that certain intruders must be removed from the union apparatus. Now the last word belongs to the rank and file. And it is up to the workers to choose their representatives freely.

Chaa: Personally, I feel we must not fall into the trap that certain opportunists concerned about their own interests want to set. Many people, for reasons confessed or unconfessed, tried to present the events of October as a demonstration against the FLN. They lumped the broad component of militants together with all the mercenaries infiltrating the movement and grabbed the controls. For the sake of history, it should be noted that those people did not talk to the militants; they preferred to talk to forces outside the FLN and unpatriotic forces.

At the present moment, we must not fall into that trap facing the UGTA. There are individuals who have infiltrated the UGTA's organizations and who are defending their little personal fiefs to the detriment of the interests of the workers. The demarcation needs to be made. The central union is not just the National Secretariat but also the union councils, the UT's, the UC's, and the UW's. We must not destroy everything; instead, we must do everything possible to see that the upcoming congress is prepared for in democratic conditions. We are not the union conscience. That belongs to 4 million workers.

That brings me back to my idea: the holding of a national conference and an appeal to all those who can make their contribution by providing a certain number of facts leading to a democratic path for an authentic union. Those facts must be widely debated by all the workers' collectives in their units. That democratic process will then be completed by a compilation of the results and a platform for making decisions.

That is the entire process. Otherwise the congress will have to be preceded by preliminary congresses of the UC's, UT's, and UW's. But the first method is the one I prefer.

Benmazouz: The only problem is that there is a deadline facing us and forcing us to act. We must act with method and tact to avoid falling into ambushes. The fact remains that we have a rank and file which has expressed itself. If I no longer fit in with the new deal, I will withdraw.

Idir: I would like to get back to the example of the port. The workers started their struggle on 15 November and wanted an autonomous union based on the open list. At the same time, those workers visited all the local authorities. And despite the latter's refusal and rejection of the open list, dialogue continued. The new ATU will make every effort to engage in further and more dialogue in the weeks and months to come.

The workers know the difference, and they reject solely and resolutely anything in contradiction with their demand.

To get back to the conference, it must be completely open with maximum possibilities for us to unite. At the same time, Chaa, all the problems cannot be included in that conference.

Chaa: We cannot work without a statute or objective at the national level; going directly to a national congress involves a danger, so it is necessary to hold a conference that will open the general debate.

Hasni: From the union standpoint, the precedent set by the port is a matter of working methods. I pose the problem in terms of principles: if the central union

recognizes the principle of the open list, that will mean challenging the Union Council. A territorial assembly is not in the same position and does not have the same resources.

In any governorate outside the capital, the worker is being worn down. That is why I talk about strategy. At the ENEL [expansion unknown], banners were put up, dossiers were submitted. In vain. The port is the lung of the national economy. This is something else.

Democratic change in the union will not be real except in the units. In those units, real unionism consists of providing transportation, a canteen, daily visits by industrial medical teams as required by law, pensions, and access to the CMS without paying. That is unionism.

#### UGTA Anniversary Statement

Working men and women,

On 24 February, Algerian working men and women will celebrate the anniversary of the founding of their union organization, the UGTA.

From 24 February 1956 to 24 February 1989: 33 years of continuous struggle, of challenges accepted, and of successive battles fought with courage, faith and reckless courage by the workers on various fronts for the country's freedom and the people's dignity at the cost of thousands of martyrs and tremendous sacrifice.

These have been 33 years of gigantic achievements and historic gains: 33 years of glory and deeds of valor to the credit of the workers, who have made conquests forever engraved in history.

A historic event in the advance of the Algerian Revolution, the founding of the UGTA in 1956 bestowed on the liberation struggle unleashed by the glorious November Revolution under the banner of the FLN the seal of the masses thanks to massive and spontaneous support by the Algerian workers—who had suffered exploitation, poverty, repression, injustice, pauperism, and oppression at the hands of the feudal and capitalist structure of French colonialism—their union organization, and their declared attachment to the ideals of November.

It was with the same honor that they struggled and paid with their lives, and it was thanks to their unity, their organization, and their profound awareness that they constituted a decisive strike force enabling the FLN to extend the area of confrontation with French colonialism by carrying the battle from the heights of the Aures Mountains to the streets of Paris and to obtain the support and solidarity of union movements and organizations and the working class throughout the world for the Algerian people's legitimate struggle against colonialism.

Following the recovery of national independence, the UGTA once again found itself facing new challenges and difficult choices.

It accepted its historic responsibilities, convinced that continuation of the November Revolution and achievement of its goals would be possible only through an overall socialist revolution which would eliminate all colonial structures with their relationships based on exploitation and anachronisms and which would close the door to the danger presented by the bourgeoisie to the achievements of the working classes.

It was thus that the UGTA made a new rendezvous with history by mobilizing all productive energies in the cities and rural areas to build the country and lay the foundations of the socialism that was destined to improve well-being and achieve social justice. In that area, the workers, impelled by enthusiasm, won tremendous victories compelling pride and satisfaction thanks to the recovery of national resources and the successive nationalizations which affected the banks, transportation, and mining and which were crowned by the great battle to nationalize hydrocarbons on 24 February 1971.

Many other conquests have punctuated the workers' struggle: the construction of factories and complexes, the establishment of national and local government-owned enterprises, the creation of jobs, the establishment of institutes and universities, the beginning of an Arabization policy, radical transformations in the rural world, and relationships of production based on democracy thanks to GSE.

The social conquests achieved thanks to the socialist Revolution, examples being the democratization of education, free medical care, and the right to work, have had a very important impact in the search for a political climate favorable to the general mobilization of the workers for continuing the struggle with a view to more gains on the road to justice, freedom, and progress for all workers.

Working men and women,

In celebrating the anniversary of the founding of their union organization in an atmosphere of pride at all the changes in the economic and social fields, and in a phase marked by political reforms, Algerian workers will clearly reaffirm their unshakable attachment to the choices and ideological reference points defined in the National Charter, which is the expression of the people's will.

Those are the very principles which guide the UGTA in its struggle for the right to an education, health, and work for all and a fair distribution of national income, its struggle to prevent the emergence of classes, and its uninterrupted struggle against bureaucracy, poor management, influence peddling, and enrichment to the detriment of the working classes.



Continuation of the struggle to build the socialist society, which is the object of the aspiration of the masses, as well as the reaffirmation of adherence and attachment to Arab-Islamic identity, defense of the material and moral rights of the workers and responsibility for meeting their aspirations and concerns within the framework of unity, democracy, and socialism have, in addition, always constituted the focal points around which the UGTA's action is built.

It is natural that the UGTA should reaffirm, on this historic occasion, its positions of principle and its immutable convictions in the face of imperialism, capitalism, and neocolonialism and its struggle against the bourgeoisie, which has become a genuine danger to the future of the workers and the country's independence by mobilizing capital to erode the gains of the masses, undermine the Revolution, and exploit the people.

Working men and women,

The date of 24 February is an occasion for you to reaffirm your unity and to rally around your organization, the UGTA, with a view to defending your rights and your aspirations in the social, economic, and political areas.

It is also an occasion for renewing your attachment to the ideals, principles, and options of the FLN, under whose banner 1.5 million martyrs fell on the field of honor, under whose guidance all the achievements and all the victories since 1962 have been realized, and which remains the historical guarantor of the unity of the country and people.

Working men and women,

The Algerian people will be called upon on 23 February to express themselves on the draft revision of the Constitution being submitted to a popular referendum by brother Chadli Bendjedid, president of the republic.

Since voting is a right and a national duty, the UGTA calls upon all working men and women to go to the polls in massive numbers on the occasion of that referendum, which gives them an opportunity to express their choices as to the future of the country within the framework of the reforms initiated by the FLN.

In the future, the official structures defined in the country's basic texts will enable the workers and their union organization, the UGTA, to reaffirm their unshakable attachment to the socialist option, which draws its strength and essence from the profound will of the masses with absolute respect for the spiritual values and sacred principles of the glorious November Revolution and in accordance with the political program of the FLN, and to do so on the basis of a clear platform which defines the aspiration of the workers to develop the content of the UGTA's struggle as a revolutionary,

progressive, and decisive force in defending the immutable options and the national unity for which the November martyrs sacrificed themselves and in building the socialist state, where there is no room for exploitation and disparities among social levels.

### **Intensive Agricultural Development Projects for South Required**

45190065e Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French  
27 Mar 89 p 3

[Text] Land development has soared during these last few years by virtue of Law 83-18 of 13 August 1983 on acquisition of agricultural property. This law basically aims to boost agricultural production by making new land areas farmable and thereby increasing the country's usable agricultural land (UAL). It does this by allotting state-owned land to applicants who commit themselves to developing it within a maximum 5-year period, after which they acquire the property.

In the long term, this operation will introduce a new development dynamic to the areas concerned through the secondary effects that may be created [affecting] all aspects of the rural economy in general. The growing interest of citizens in this program is strong evidence of this.

Originally limited to Saharan regions which have more facilities for developing the operation, notably available land, and in light of the major concern for extending useful agricultural land, the field of application for this undertaking has moved beyond the boundary of the sub-steppe. It now covers the potential offered by the steppe areas and those identified in the north of the country.

Thus, the situation has evolved rapidly from 1,000 hectares of land allotted in 1984 to over 253,000 hectares at the end of 1988. The number of allottees has grown from 700 to 56,900 during this period.

As far as geographical distribution is concerned, the south accounts for the lion's share of land allotted, with 170,750 hectares, or 67 percent of total allotments, and an average of 4.39 hectares per beneficiary. Next come the steppeland wilayas with 69,290 hectares, or 27 percent of the land allotted nationally.

The northern areas, where the operation has involved 11 wilayas, saw 13,000 hectares allotted, or 6 percent of the total.

The rate of allotment is climbing rapidly from year to year. As an example, in 1988 60,000 hectares of land were allotted to 15,200 people throughout the national territory, compared to 43,000 hectares in 1987 assigned to 9,200 beneficiaries.

As for the amount of land developed, given the period of time necessary for development and certain constraints the operation is encountering, it is something on the order of 94,850 hectares with 71,450 hectares planted. The annual rate of development between 1986 and 1988 was 23,000 hectares on the average.

This distortion between land allotted and land developed is due essentially, as we indicated, to the time needed to carry out development operations (the time allowed is 5 years). But it is also due to certain constraints linked notably to the unavailability of agricultural and hydraulic equipment and to financing modalities.

Indeed, despite the efforts made to develop land, relatively large shortfalls have occurred in the delivery of agricultural equipment in general and hydraulic equipment in particular.

Deliveries made over the 1985-88 period included 1,485 tractors, 395 minitractors, 542 rotary hoes, 9,972 motor-pumps and electropumps, 700 generator sets, and 1,900 commercial and industrial vehicles.

Financial constraints essentially concern loan conditions which are still restrictive due, notably, to the high initial contribution required by banks before granting loans (ranging from 10 to 40 percent of the investment) and to the slowness in processing loan requests, among other problems.

However, although the amount of land developed is relatively small given the land area allotted, it should be stressed that the land cultivated represents nearly 120 percent of the area actually irrigated year<sup>1</sup> in the 60,000-hectare great northern peripheries, and all of the area irrigated in the south.

These results, even though they fall short of existing potential if all conditions for development were met, show the magnitude of the effort made. They also show the operation's contribution to the goals of extending UAL, creating stable jobs, increasing agricultural production, and, through this program, satisfying the country's food needs.

All these dimensions make the Association for Agricultural Property Through Land Development a priority program in the government's 1989 plan of action.

On this basis, a new approach has been drawn up to insure better control of objectives and effective mobilization of all necessary means for revitalizing the program.

The approach is essentially based on greater rigor in planning actions and on integration of them into a coordinated master plan encompassing both development operations and all support activities. The latter include opening up of isolated areas with roads and communications, electrification, equipment, rural habitat, etc.

### **Supplemental Water Resources Needed for Tizi-Ouzou**

45190065d Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French  
22 Mar 89 p 7

[Text] It is absolutely urgent that large works to supply surface water be rapidly constructed in the Tizi-Ouzou wilaya, in an opinion of the Department for the Development of Hydraulic and Agricultural Activities [DDHA], expressed in a report presented recently for examination by the APW [governorate popular assembly].

The document, which reports on the state of hydraulic facilities in the wilaya, notes the enormous shortfall this region faces in satisfying its needs (drinking-water supply, irrigation).

The figures advanced evaluate the shortfall at 108.52 million cubic meters, for total estimated needs of 158.26 million cubic meters. Current capacities (49.74 million cubic meters) are ridiculously low compared to an ever-growing volume of needs and the exhaustion of traditional sources.

Provision of drinking water was the hot issue in debates, in light of the urgent and heavy pressure that is felt each summer. The table presented by the DDHA once again pointed out the shortfall, which totaled 30.92 million cubic meters, with needs estimated at 52.3 million cubic meters.

The existing shortfall, however, is felt variously by the different wilaya regions. According to the DDHA document, four "zones" share "this variety." The largest (47 percent of the total wilaya population) is considered "to have an average supply", while the most affected (rural) zone was described as "not supplied"; it affects 144,703 inhabitants, or 15 percent of the population.

In any event, and if the current tendency continues, your best chance of being well-supplied is to live in "large urban centers and places located on the outskirts of the oued." Measures to reduce the imbalance have been written [into programs] and implemented for several years. However, the financial limitations imposed by the weight of the crisis and structural limitations have resulted in a number of projects not yet being able to meet expectations.

These projects, the majority of which were written into the PCD's [communal development program], were transferred to the sectoral plans in 1984. The APC's



[people's communal assembly], because of their limited financial capacities, exhausted their program authorizations before completing the seven projects. Launched to supply a population of 620,570 inhabitants grouped in 379 villages and hamlets, these projects have been 50 percent completed. Sixty-nine (69) villages benefited from these operations during 1987-88 and 67 others will during 1989.

The work of the APW session was supposed to examine the study of two other issues: relinquishment of construction lots in rural areas and expropriation for public use.

#### **New Air Route Established Between Tiaret, Ghardaia**

45190065c Algiers *EL MOUDJAHID* in French  
28 Mar 89 p 7

[Text] A new weekly flight linking the cities of Tiaret and Ghardaia was inaugurated Sunday, leaving from Tiaret-Ain Boucekif.

Return service is offered the same day and the new air route is sure to prove fairly profitable given the stream of passengers between the two urban agglomerations. It should also be profitable because travelers desiring to reach the M'zab capital from Tiaret had until now no other recourse than to travel by road, with all the attendant risk and fatigue at the end of the 600-km trek separating these two wilaya capitals.

Moreover, the Tiaret-Ain Boucekif airport, which has daily flights from Algiers from Saturday and Thursday, will from now on also have one on Friday afternoons.

#### **New Board of Directors Selected for Skikda Port Agency**

45190065b Algiers *EL MOUDJAHID* in French  
22 Mar 89 p 4

[Article by Rachid Souilah: "New Status for Skikda Port Agency"]

[Text] The Skikda Port Agency has become autonomous by converting to a Public Business Enterprise (PBE) in accordance with Law 88.01 of 12 January 1988. It is the first PBE created at the Skikda wilaya level under the program to make public business enterprises autonomous. The legal transformation took place before attorney Bounemer Mahmoud, a notary near the Skikda Court, at the close of a legally-binding general meeting held at the port agency's headquarters Tuesday 21 March 1989. The meeting brought together the mandataries of the profit fund, holders of the new PBE's social capital—Aoued Tayeb, Djeridi Abderrahmane, and Gaies Nadjmadine. The PBE's social capital has been set at 10,000,000 Algerian dinars. Forty percent has been allocated to the services fund, and 30 percent each to the electronics, telecommunications, and data-processing fund and the various industries' fund.

After adoption of its new statutes, the board of directors, made up of nine members including two worker representatives, was officially installed. The administrators at the board of directors' meeting elected Mr Salehi Djillali as president, also naming him general manager of the company. The composition of the new PBE's board of directors is as follows: president—Salehi Djillali; members—Guirram Kamel, Bouzebra Hamida, Tabouche Ahmed, Rateni Rafik Ali, Zeghouane Brahim, and Miss Abdessalami Nadia. Worker representatives are Belouaneme Abdelaziz and Khelfaoui Tahar. The designated auditor is Boutarfa Abdelmadjid.

#### **Journalists Stress Need for Substantive Press Control Changes**

##### **Public Influence on Press**

45190055 Algiers *ALGERIE-ACTUALITE* in French  
16-22 Mar 89 pp 12-13

[Article by Abderrahmane Mahmoudi: "Information: What Information?—A Novice's Misdemeanor"; first paragraph is *ALGERIE-ACTUALITE* introduction]

[Text] The EL-MOUDJAHID journalists strike raises a cardinal question on the political scene. Can one actually function in a pluralistic system with news media regulated to the nth degree by a routine-minded, morose monolithism? It is a fact that Algeria's political future is closely tied to the future of the information sector. As long as the press is not pluralistic, the political system will remain to some degree a captive of the monopoly. Now, taking stock of things at the present time, the situation is not—as Mustapha Chelfi's article demonstrates—especially bright. Premature questions? Over a month after the referendum on the Constitution, the news media are still in fact operating on the basis of the 1982 code, although a note from the Ministry of Information represents a retreat on its part and drafts of [a new] code are being rushed to completion. Which of the many bills that are making the rounds will be submitted to the APN? In his article, Abderrahmane Mahmoudi raises the question of the future of news media financed by public funds. Organized in a widespread movement patiently built up over long months, the journalists have through various actions and proposals demonstrated the fundamental interest they have not only in the exercise of their profession, but also in the situation which makes of the latter a stake in the game. Larbi Khalfoun shows us the birth and evolution of a movement which by dint of mobilization has become an incontrovertible partner in the discussion of any question relating to information. A discussion that constitutes this week's event [in the column called "Events"] and which will be continued in these columns in the weeks to come. [sentence as published] Need we repeat that the discussion is open and that all contributions are welcome?

The real struggle lies more in the management methods that are going to be applied to the information sector.

No matter how we may judge the new phase in our history that the recent Constitution is leading us through, this Constitution has the undeniable advantage of clarifying everyone's position: El-Chami, Chami or El-Baghdadi, Baghdadi. Thus, confusion is no longer possible since Article 40 eliminates false colors by revealing the real operating rules of an evolving society. Political power will no longer be held thanks to the incontestable monopoly of a single party, but to the economic and organizational power of the social force it represents. It is just as true that going from a fixed, absolute monopoly situation to the shifting rules and complexities of a multiparty system in the space of 5 months is reason enough to throw the most hardened bureaucrat into confusion. And some old reflexes have such tough skins that we have the right to ask ourselves whether they are not quite simply incurable diseases. Thus, at the time of the preliminary proceedings that were to give birth to the new information code, several approaches came to light. Some of them completely constitutional, others much less so. A state or government press, or public opinion or party press, or even commercial or public service press: all these approaches are being discussed. But on the whole, it is two major approaches that oppose one another. One has already materialized through the information code drafted by the Ministry of Information and which is supposed to reflect the government's position, and the other approach, which is being implemented through informal channels, is presumed to be more constitutional. As concerns the first approach, it differs from the previous information code only in that it adds very vague provisions regarding the notions of a public opinion and a party press, and it provides for the possibility of private individuals' creating their own news media. The remainder of the code that has been drafted is a renewal of the same provisions, establishing the requirements for exercising the profession of journalist with the same structures: rights, duties, sanctions. It is, moreover, odd that incidental to this proposed code, which is more like a charter for journalists than anything else, is a simple document dated 6 March 1989 and entitled "Report on Studies Relating to the Assumption of Responsibility for Government Communication and the New Political Landscape During the Transitional Period" which expresses what a law that organizes the information sector might be like. This paper, issued by the Ministry of Information, begins like this: "Effective and credible mediatization [interpreting of events as reported by the news media] of the program and the granting of government concessions essentially depends on judicious utilization of the means and techniques of communication.... The objective of the briefings and discussion sessions is to contribute to the establishment of an organized government communication system since such channels will also enable members of the government to familiarize themselves with communication techniques and better convey what they have to say. It is obvious that, in this spirit of improving the government's distinctive image, the opportunity for the press to report all or part of the proceedings of such sessions will be left to the judgment

of the journalists and ministers involved in them." On page 6, the paper continues: "This is why a local ministerial activity is deserving of detailed preparation with the collaboration of the press, and is particularly recommended when the event requires it. To perform its supporting role effectively, the press should be included [in the preparations] far enough ahead of time.... The important thing is to succeed in jointly achieving a balance between journalistic practice and government action." A little farther on, dealing with the 'mediatization' of government action, the paper allows us to read: "...To accomplish this there are communication techniques that should be judiciously utilized. For example: posing questions that have nothing to do with a ministerial activity in order to provoke a debate and bring out an important personage's human dimension. Another example: a photo showing a member of the government and a reporter having a cup of coffee together." This view of things would be understandable in a case where the national press was the property of the government or a party and in a case where such a government possessed several news media of its own. Even in this case, what kind of journalists do the authors of this paper have in mind?

In the second major part of the paper, "National Press and New Political Landscape During the Transitional Period," it is also possible to cite extracts that speak for themselves: "...National Liberation Front (FLN) activity should benefit from extensive coverage that is also in keeping with open dialogue with the different political factions. As for the activities of the political associations, the media's role is to limit themselves to reporting news concisely and impartially. ...it is therefore advisable during this transitional phase to avoid interviews and conversations with personages likely to influence the security that must prevail during the establishment of the Constitution so that healthy forces may emerge. It is obvious that this rule should not apply to members of the government and FLN executive secretaries and regional coordinators." This is followed by a certain number of fairly specific guidelines on how "to mediatize what can enrich and 'positivize' the government program" and how "any demonstration whatsoever organized in a mosque or a university may not receive news coverage."

On reading these few paragraphs that are so clear and expressive, a question comes to mind: "Is the national press the government's and the FLN's private preserve or does it serve the entire nation?" We are also asking ourselves how a simple paper issued by a subdepartment of the Ministry of Information can pretend to organize the national information sector when the proposed information code only regulates the profession of journalist through broad improvements in the peddling and distribution of newspapers?

However, one thing is certain: Newspapers already in existence cannot be subject to any form of compromise or bargaining. Whether due to their history or their human component, these papers are the patrimony of

the entire nation. The investments that created them were financed with public funds and their staffs and managements have been paid out of state funds.

To go ahead today and appropriate a publication or two, if not all the publications of the national press, in the name of some sort of legitimacy is nothing more nor less than a crude return to the situation before 5 October and an unequivocal denunciation of the terms of the Constitution. For, when the people of Alger voted on the latter, they had no intention of justifying cutting up the pie anew, but rather of putting an end to political feudalities and attachments to the "right" as well as the "left" breasts. What would be left of the Algerian State if one fine morning each manager decided to stuff the enterprise he is in charge of into a bag and take it straight to the headquarters of his party? After all, why wouldn't what is good for a newspaper be good for a university, a sports complex, or a factory? If it comes to that, why wouldn't workers phagocytize their production units? No, all this is not very responsible and only perpetuates a situation in which things come to a standstill and are immobilized, one which history has relentlessly condemned.

If we expect to obtain a true information law that would effectively protect the dissemination of news and the reporting profession, it is to our advantage to intensify discussion and for the national press to faithfully reflect this without citadels being erected by the will of just a few people who, for fear of losing their narrow little positions, risk making us lose our democratic gamble. The real struggle is more with regard to the administrative methods that are going to be applied to the information sector. And the real issues will be in the economic and professional sectors. The parties—no matter which ones—must today learn to face up to the challenges where they really are, not where they would like them to be.

### Press Problems Highlighted

45190055 Algiers ALGERIE-ACTUALITE in French  
16-22 Mar 89 pp 13-14

[Article by Mustapha Chelfi: "The Mask and the Pen"; first paragraph is ALGERIE-ACTUALITE introduction]

[Text] Does the national press problem reside in the cozy comfort of editorial staffs that are not only not very well informed on what goes on in this country, but do not even have a real grasp of the content of and how to put together a newspaper, the essentials of which escape them?

EL-MOUDJAHID always comes out, even when the paper's editorial staff is on strike. Here is the best illustration—concretely this time—that a newspaper can be turned out without journalists, just with agency dispatches. When, on 13 February, Nourredine Nait Mazi, the general manager of the El-Moudjahid National Company, who is responsible for the publication of the

paper, won over the FLN [National Liberation Front] lock, stock, and barrel, according to statements he made that were reported by the evening daily EL-MASSA, he did so with the approval of the ministry. This was the last straw and, as a sign of protest against all the affronts they had suffered during a quarter of a century of servitude, most of the editorial staff of EL-MOUDJAHID went underground. The counterattack was organized starting 26 February and, to show their anger, as of 4 March the EL-MOUDJAHID journalists, who had been joined by other colleagues from different editorial staffs, pilloried "a totally outmoded, absolutely out-of-date editorial management." A few days later a "dazibao" posted on the bulletin board at 20 rue de la Liberte, the main office of the newspaper, called for the replacement of "a totally bureaucratized press with one that was constitutionally liberated."

So, for the first time in the history of the Algerian press an editorial staff decided to go on strike and won over to their cause many other journalists for whom the crisis the biggest Algerian daily is caught up in is a decisive test designed to test how closely theory matches practice. This crisis, for which the MJA, Algerian Journalists Movement, has assumed responsibility is only the logical outcome of a situation that has merely gone from bad to worse. "A strategic sector closely tied to our national sovereignty," according to the Constitution, the press was also "an exemplary means of disseminating the FLN ideology." Whence, a thread of party logic in the law, the situation imposed on "journalistic discourse, obligated to follow step by step political discourse, the nature of which is to change," according to Hamid Abassa's statement at the conference of lawyers and journalists held at the end of January in Aurassi. So, exit credibility and the right to information, despite the fact that they are practically recognized in the Constitution. Particularly asinine and finicky, with neither imagination nor generosity, the state monopoly on the news media ended up turning the "journalist-soldier" into a kamikaze who sacrificed himself every day in the name of the official ideology without for all that rendering the slightest service to readers who were flabbergasted by so much groveling. Abdelhamid Benzine of the PAGES [Socialist Vanguard Party] administration remembers very well that in 1965, just after the 19 June coup, he was asked—he was at the time chief editor of ALGER REPUBLICAIN—to applaud that reversal of the situation without any discussion. When he refused to comply with the request, the paper and the premises were seized and the national press was deprived of one of its gems. The entire history of the national press has been one of obedience, with journalists expected to have their pens at the ready. When the Western daily LA REPUBLIQUE began to get out of line and its free and independent tone ended up displeasing [the government], it was Arabized—this was the pretext—to stifle a voice that spoke out loudly and could be heard far and wide. Later, in 1982, the information code took up the torch and set the guidelines for reporting by journalists, who were, practically speaking, limited to news items and sport news.



Like any cause, the cause of journalism had its victims. Those who tried to do their jobs—just their jobs—were scrapped, forbidden to write, blacklisted in red ink. Other journalists were interrogated, some of them fired, and all of them placed under strict surveillance, writing only within well-defined limits beyond which their articles were no longer acceptable. Colorless, odorless, and tasteless, the content of the newspapers thus served to make them submit to much humiliation and swallow many an insult. In reaction to these indigestible newspapers, most readers switched to the foreign press, more believable because it was freer, more truthful, more attractive. Here and there, however, journalists working for different papers succeeded—rarely, it is true—in writing articles that for a brief moment won over readers who sensed that the differences between newspapers were more differences of degree than character. Nevertheless, Amar Belhimer, an EL-MOUDJAHID journalist, remarks that “the country’s information sector is being subjected to a veritable earthquake” because of the new political and economic factors that are rapidly establishing themselves. The different “factions” will from now on have to express themselves in newspapers that belong not to transient governments, but to the perennial state. Moreover, henceforth the economic management of the newspapers “is a good thing because it permits us to go from government management to professional management.” Beyond these important changes, the legal framework is still lacking. Since the 1982 information code was more than obsolete, at a meeting in November 1988 Algerian journalists brought to the attention of the minister of information the need to rethink the field of information as a whole and first of all provide the sector with a code that is something other than a series of prohibitions and inconsistencies. Put together in 10 days by a joint journalist-Ministry of Information commission, the tentative draft of an information code was discussed on 2 March before about 100 of the 1,000 journalists in the Algiers area and amended within a day as regards the few points that really posed problems.

Furthermore, it was on that day that the journalists present at the Palace of Culture were astonished to hear of the existence of a second proposed code, this one sponsored by the Office of the Secretary General of Government.<sup>1</sup> Among the disputed points in the draft that was examined, Article 10 held the attention of some of the participants for a long time because the state monopoly on the news media had not been extended to the written news media. The immense majority of the speeches revolved about the idea of a state sector with a public service vocation. The public service notion, which many journalists supported, appeared to be the best guarantee of a free press, placing the interests of the readers above those of the parties and the nation’s leaders. Other issues involving newspaper ownership, editorial staff status, the organizing of the profession, the composition (and the term of members’ mandates) of the High Information Council, and the conferring of [press] cards clearly demonstrated the complexity of the task

and the importance of the stakes. Ownership of the means of production and the desire expressed by the journalists present at the Palace of Culture to see them linked with the public sector, which would thus hold the monopoly, gave rise to animated reactions when the news of these proposals reached other journalists who had not made the trip to Ministry of Information headquarters. Particularly sure of their action, these journalists argued that the sole concern of their colleagues who are defending a public sector monopoly on the basis of the publications that exist today is a “guarantee of employment” rather than readers’ interests, that journalists also must accept the new democratic deal and consider the fact that even the present publications may slip out of the hands of a public sector monopoly, that they must not hesitate if need be “to auction off a newspaper that is foundering” if that may save it. Other journalists pointed out that it is better “to fight with a [private] employer than with the state. It’s easier.” A researcher summed up the situation as follows: “The man who pays runs the show,” while a colleague said: “It’s hard to imagine the state’s letting the media it controls turn themselves into firebrands, unless it wants to commit hara-kiri.” The problem involving paper—through the intermediary of AGI [not further identified]—may reduce today’s hopes to tomorrow’s ashes. To silence an “opposition newspaper” or, more plainly put, to “put one’s house in order,” all one has to do is reduce paper imports and allocate the paper to “friendly newspapers.”

Other journalists wondered about how managerial independence and editorial independence could be guaranteed in the public sector. In plain language, how in the world can the fact that an order for a foreign assignment used to have to go the President’s Office and for some time now to the Office of the Secretary General of Government before “redescending” to the editorial staff of the paper be explained? The journalists were not afraid to pose these questions that lashed out in disorder in all directions since each of them ended up joining the others in that nebulous state in which one does not know exactly where the center and the periphery are. Since there were no little demands, the latter coincided with the big ones: A ban on official censure, recognition of professional secrecy, journalists’ royalties on their articles, a conscience clause, and an editors committee—moreover, the rough draft of the information code recognizes them—have become the legitimate, incontrovertible demands of the profession, with all factions dumbfounded.

Another subject of questions: Did the fact, for example, that the manager of EL-MOUDJAHID had declared his allegiance to the FLN with the agreement of the hierarchy mean that a territorial division is being effected because a newspaper is exerting influence through its political affiliations? If this is the case, which camp would, for example, ALGERIE-ACTUALITE, HORIZONS, EL-CHAAB, EL-MASSA, EL-DJEMKHOURIA, etc. join? To say—which is what

Kamel Belkacem, the director general of ENERIM [expansion unknown], who is responsible for the publication of ALGERIE-ACTUALITE, did at a round-table discussion held by ENTV [expansion unknown] last February—that journalists who do not agree with the paper's editorial policy should resign is a good illustration of the disorder that prevails on editorial staffs in which—aside from common professional requirements—different, sometimes opposing political factions coexist. Is the purpose of this reshuffling of the cards, which seems to be operating on the sly, to force journalists to rejoin [papers with] editorial policies they may closely agree with even when they have a profound attachment to the magazines and newspapers they work for, regardless of any other consideration? Likewise, how can we bring about regulatory laws as quickly as possible that will somewhat restore order to a profession that seriously lacks order? Moreover, is not the fact that newspaper companies have been operating with temporary—therefore repayable—loans since January 1988 going to ultimately force the papers to manage instead of administering, to reduce expenses maximally to prevent the newspaper companies from "filing for bankruptcy"?

This time the situation is not very bright as regards the courts, and the newspapers are in an extraordinarily complex and difficult situation. At the EL-Chaab National Company, and El-Hachemi Bourayou, the assistant chief editor of EL-MASSA, listed the vicissitudes of the business without forgetting a single one: The difficulty in recruiting journalists "in the professional sense of the word," the weakness of a specialized education that "no longer guarantees a minimal knowledge of the field." El-Hachemi Bourayou is distressed over what the Arab-language press "because of its prejudice wrongly views as a subpress." Added to all these difficulties that are penalizing the information sector are alliances and bureaucratic intrigues, the consequences of which are quite simply catastrophic. Thus, when the orientation and content of EL-MASSA, aimed at young people, changed and the former chief editor, Larbi Gheras, who was said to be close to Messaadia, placed EL-MASSA at the disposition of the "party," sales in the Algiers area dropped from 100,000 copies a day to 25,000. Furthermore, when the distribution of newspapers, handled by ENAMEP [expansion unknown], is done by "guesstimate," no one is in a position to properly control the vital link that "should normally exist between the paper and its readers."

As a result, papers cannot be found at some newsstands and they are practically not sold at others, which explains why no Algerian newspaper is today capable of determining its real sales volume since no reliable and dependable books are kept. Under the best of circumstances, the percentage figures on unsold papers reach the newspapers several months late, which prevents them from adjusting press runs on the basis of sales. On the other hand, some newspapers' press runs are limited to an invariable quantity even if the demand is greater than the supply. Here, too, the crisis is resolved and the

shortage of paper, or rather its extremely high cost in hard currency, directly penalizes readers who have already been punished enough by the poverty of content of the newspapers. Cherif Ladraa, a journalist who works for ADHWA, a weekly that appears in Arabic and is published by the EL-Chaab National Company, was visibly heavy-hearted. "ADHWA was founded without articles of incorporation, without an organization chart, and without a program. Today, 22 journalists are working for a weekly with a circulation fluctuating between barely 17,000 and 23,000 copies. We've become government employees. We putter about."

In the editorial room about 10 journalists, most of them extremely young, between the ages of 23 and 27, brought in grist for their colleague's mill. Even though the press equipment is ultramodern, even though the two fax machines for simultaneous remote printing are an absolute marvel, the management everlastingly relies on the EL-Chaab National Company to solve its problem, as in all newspaper companies. Assistant General Manager Driss Atallah identified this as one of the most serious problems to be resolved and reminded us that "paper alone represents 85 percent of the amount allocated for 'materials and supplies'." Paper and the payroll alone consume 110 percent of the sales volume, which in part explains newspaper company deficits. With the temporary—and therefore repayable—loans granted the newspaper companies for 2 years now, the situation is in no uncertain terms going to get worse and the deficit will grow. The cost of producing a newspaper is already well above its sales price. In 1987, for example, a copy of EL-MOUDJAHID cost 1.20 dinars, whereas it was turned over to ENAMEP for 0.95 dinar. Now is it possible that the newspaper companies will balance their accounts in order to get out of the red? Driss Atallah thinks so if the necessary decisions are made: "In the press we must anticipate, then decide at the right time and not retreat afterwards." According to the opinions we got, a newspaper company can even make a profit if the print shops were authorized to do the work, publish for it, increase the percentage of the sales volume accounted for by advertising, etc.

Another newspaper company manager thought that someday they would have to have the courage to deal with the problem of overstaffing in newspaper companies and the existence of papers that have been launched without prior market studies, solely for the show and the glory. "How can we accept the fact that every day created by God a company can lose so much money? If the simple rules of accountability were applied, these companies would have to be abandoned. It's true that the management of our newspaper companies is completely out of the hands of the managers, who can only make decisions within limits determined in advance and arbitrarily by the political system. Is it normal, for example, for a copy of EL-MOUDJAHID to sell for barely the price of a lollipop?"

A plethora, editorial overstaffing—things are not all that simple in the real world and the journalists' point of view

differs considerably from the managers'. With 1,500 journalists and some 15 publications, there is somewhat of a shortage of magazines and specialized newspapers. "It's more the means and the will that are lacking," according to an APS journalist. "When you see that some newspapers have neither telephones, nor cars, telexes, chairs, editors meetings, or even news item meetings, you say to yourself that there is a certain amount of cheek in wanting to hold journalists responsible for the situation. As far as I'm concerned, I'm of the opinion that the market ought to be allowed to straighten out this whole mess, all the incompetence, all the fraudulent deals."

Does the national press problem reside in the cozy comfort of editorial staffs that are not only not very well informed about what is going on in the country, but also have no real grasp of the workings and content of a newspaper, the point of which they miss? How then do we reverse this development and restore order?

Now, when the national press is struggling to elevate itself to the level of a credible news service, citizens are more and more investing in the magic parabola [antenna] and counting on over 20 networks that will soon cover the northern part of the country through the intermediary of Astra and TDF1 and the "ascent" of Antenna 2 and TFI on a satellite. In the meantime, the single JT [expansion unknown] of a single network continues to provide proof every evening at 2000 hours that the information sector has not yet kept its appointment.

**Footnotes 1. We do not yet know which of the two will be submitted to the APN.**

**Success of Journalists Movement Described**  
45190055 Algiers ALGERIE-ACTUALITE in French  
16-22 Mar 89 pp 15-16

[Article by Larbi Khalfoun: "Algerian Journalists Movement: Already Tomorrow"; first paragraph is ALGERIE-ACTUALITE introduction]

[Text] Algerian journalists have formed a movement. We present here the general outlines, the developments in connection with this movement, and the major focal points of a debate on an evolving profession and organization.

On the morning of last 10 October, right in the middle of a state of siege, 70 journalists assembled at the main office of the Algiers section of the Journalists, Writers and Interpreters Union (UJEI) on rue Khemisti adopted a declaration that was to be heard round the world. In it they protested the impossible situation they were in, which prevented them from doing their job of informing the public on the actions and events that take place in the country, denounced the way in which the national media were exploited "in defiance of any professional ethic and citizens' elementary right to information" and

demanding that the state of siege be lifted, the release of all those who had been arrested and "the establishment of democratic freedoms on the whole, they being the sole guarantees of a broad national discussion in which the masses of the people will be able to express themselves with regard to their future."

At that very moment, Sid Ali Benmechiche, an APS journalist, was killed by a bullet while trying to do his job. Since then, his name has been given to the union local in question (as well as to Press House in Oran) by these same journalists and others banded together in what everyone inside and outside the country knows under the name of the Algerian Journalists Movement (MJA).

If this 10 October declaration had as resounding reverberation as it did, it is, of course, first of all because of the tragic events our country had been through, events that thrust it into the foreground of world news. In addition to this, among foreign journalists there was a quite natural feeling of solidarity with their colleagues. As for us Algerians, we were reduced to listening to foreign radio broadcasts (and telecasts for those who could get them on their sets) and we discovered that Algerian journalists were not the servile liars we thought they were and that in every case most of them did not take pleasure in the role others wanted them to play. The journalists' public image was changed by this. Many now know that people other than the journalists bear the heavy responsibility for the tragic state our press is in.

In addition to this, there is the extremely important fact that for the first time since the early years of independence a mass professional organization has set itself up and taken action without any official supervision in a spirit and in accordance with methods that are democratic, pluralistic, and united in terms of action, and all this long before 5 October.

This was and still is an unprecedented event and a movement that is of value to a certain extent as an example and the evolution of which therefore deserves the attention of all those who are interested in the future of democracy in this country.

But let's take a look at what the journalists themselves have to say. Amar Bekhouche (television): "I speak as a member of the movement, but not in its name. Since the movement does not yet have a leadership that could speak for it. The current leadership is the general assembly. But there are elected delegates in the newspapers and they coordinate action on and the implementation of decisions made in the general assemblies. Where did the Journalists Movement come from? The social and political situation in Algeria was for a long time a situation involving a political, ideological, and constitutional monopoly.... Thus there was a journalist organization; then it was expanded to include writers and interpreters. That is, in practice there was no longer a journalist organization; the UJEI was not present locally and the



journalist rank and file was not associated with its establishment. In the absence of a real organization, journalists' professional and social problems kept piling up until February 1988, when a group of journalists decided that it was impossible to go on as they had and that they had to rebuild the journalist organization." More specifically, an extremely restrictive promotion list decided on by the Ministry of Information in December 1987 was the last straw for the journalists, who had been constantly suffering affronts for too many years. On the second Thursday of February 1988 some 20 journalists met, discussed roundtable committees and official censure and decided to establish the embryo of an organization that would really assume responsibility for solving their problems. From the start and in an obvious and natural way, the autonomy of this organization that is taking form and its independence with respect to any supervision has been a matter of course. As Mohamed Chelouche (Radio Network I) again notes: "The movement is not the result of personal ambitions as some think it is, nor does it represent a tendency toward domination. It is much more the inescapable result of an information vacuum and the deteriorated press sector situation in general.... It can easily be shown that the journalist is today reduced to being a bureaucrat activated by a telex and instructions and that he has no opportunity to make use of his energy and his abilities to satisfy citizens' right to complete and objective news reporting.... He runs up against obstacles and constraints due to authoritarianism, abuses of all kinds, a monopoly on responsibilities, administrations and institutions that place their own narrow interests before the journalist's right to the free exercise of his profession. Let us add to this the fact that the organization that is supposed to take care of journalists' problems and aspirations, the UJEI, is an organization doomed to failure because it was created in an authoritarian mold and, therefore, it was natural for it not to concern itself with journalists' professional and social problems. Therefore, the MJA was born on the ruins of a dead union and to save an information sector in a deplorable situation. It is a socioprofessional movement whose objective is to build an autonomous, independent, and pluralistic organization without any other supervision than that afforded by the law and professional ethics for access to sources of information, the free exercise of the profession and satisfaction of citizens' right to credible and objective information."

The prefiguration of a future journalist organization and at the same time a flexible form of organization in itself, the movement was therefore born of one and the same gesture and of the same pressure to resolve the most urgent material and socioprofessional problems, to forcefully deal with the problems of democracy and expression and to lay the foundations for a truly representative journalist organization, therefore one that follows the formula that will be produced by the general assemblies: a democratic, autonomous, independent, and pluralistic organization.

And on these various levels a rapid glance at the balance sheet for the MJA's 1 year of existence shows that the gains are far from being negligible: After several actions, general assemblies, petitions, delegations and negotiations that the ministry finally agreed to, they wound up with a new promotion list, upgrading of most of the SGT [expansion unknown] post grades, standardization and upgrading of bonuses and benefits, payment of the PRC [expansion unknown] retroactive for all the years it was frozen. They began to organize a response to the censure and prohibitions. In particular, the 9 May 1988 declaration, which is still a movement platform and which has received a broad, sympathetic response, listed among "the major problems...at the root of the national information crisis": "an obvious withdrawal from professionalism, illustrated by the preeminence of complacent commentary to the detriment of real news, investigation, or reporting," "a widespread practice of censure and self-censure accompanied by prohibitions that are revolting because they are illegal," "an inadmissible restriction of access to sources of information" and, lastly, "a shortage of organizational and operational staff....". "Little by little, journalists found themselves completely stifled, shunted aside and, in addition, they were no longer participating in the activities of their newspapers. Whence the birth of a press of poor quality and that officially deplored the "rush" to acquire parabolic antennas and foreign newspapers and radio broadcasts. Everything that is happening is as though the state-run media were today operating in accordance with the whims of individuals, cliques, or secret groups. As for the conscience clause, it is totally ignored by officials, which in some cases even forces journalists to lie. No end should justify such means!"

At any rate, as far as recognition of the Journalists Movement is concerned, to gauge the progress that has been made it is enough for us to note that the first meetings were held under difficult circumstances due to the active hostility of newspaper managements, whereas the secretary general of the President's Office recently received an MJA delegation and assured them that he understood that journalists want to organize themselves today, placing this determination to create an independent journalist organization within the pressure for current political reforms, and he declared that the new information code would above all be the business of the professionals and that they would have a part in its formulation.

None of this could have been accomplished without the mobilization of the journalists and particularly not without their unity. It is no doubt no accident that the movement's initial struggles were aimed at reducing the extraordinary disparities and inequities that were characteristic of journalists' material situation from one newspaper to another and from one sector to another (as a rule, Arab-language journalists were the least favored). Regardless of whether this involved benefits and bonuses or even wage classification. Aziouez Mokhtari (REVO-LUTION AFRICAINE): "What sticks in my mind after

a year of activity by the movement is the cultural aspect, the movement's level of participation, whether it be through writings or the assemblies. The traditional divisions among journalists have tended to disappear. Up until 2 or 3 years ago, people were superficially divided between journalists of this or that paper, [those who wrote] in Arabic or in French, and I must say that the staffs of the newspapers and the ministry, too, did all they could to maintain this climate of division and suspicion.

"One of the great merits of the movement is that it has been able, that it has known how to communicate a sense of dynamism on the basis of everyone's common problems, one that has pushed back all these artificial divisions which—I say this again as an individual, involving only myself, I suppose—were deliberate divisions so that the Algerian press might never attain a degree of maturity that would enable it to deal with those problems which are supposed to account for its very existence. The most convincing example of this is the great unity that at present exists between journalists writing in different languages. No one today would any longer dare to say to our friends at ACH CHAAB or AL-MASSA that such and such a colleague who writes in French supports France. Just as someone else who interviews Ait Menguellat will no longer be automatically accused of being a Berber supporter, no more than he would be of belonging to an underground party if he merely speaks of socialism. Nowadays, journalists more and more demand of their interlocutors explanations and real arguments so that they are forced to make decisive statements. I personally feel very much at ease now with all the journalists of the movement. I think that the movement ought to continue to pursue this line of action which, moreover, bothers a lot of people, particularly the upper management of the press, as we note in some forced writings that allude to certain divisions in order to revive former quarrels." No doubt, the closer one sticks to the socioprofessional problems, the easier it is to create unity, isn't it? This, at any rate, is the opinion of Latifa Madani (Radio Network III): "As for me, the movement should concern itself with the socioprofessional problems, not with anything else. Journalism is a cause in itself. It is both an end and a means to an end; it is a vocation. In principle, it is a noble profession. If I am in the movement, it is because of this, to be able to exercise this profession as I see it and not for any other reason." But this can be understood in different ways, naturally. For Hamid Aberkane (EL-MOUDJAHID), freedom of expression "is the only demand, in my opinion, that was worth creating the movement for. Because all of us are first of all journalists. And therefore concerned for freedom of expression. Why create a movement? I reply: to consolidate this freedom of expression. It is a question of setting up organizations that can guarantee this fundamental acquisition, which is an acquisition not only for journalists, but for Algerian society as a whole."

The journalists' rediscovered unity was not their key weapon for taking possession of their gains; in the eyes of many of them it is their chief gain. Mohamed Benchicou

(EL-MOUDJAHID) expresses it this way: "The unity that is taking shape is the main thing the movement has achieved. We've learned to know one another, appreciate one another, laugh together, young, old, Arabic-speaking, French-speaking, etc. The lesson? It is that the reserves of unity in this country are considerable, immense.... If we journalists have succeeded in autonomously organizing ourselves in a strategic sector, others can do so elsewhere to a greater extent. The enemies of the movement? Those who are disturbed by this unity. Those who, because of the division of the journalists, introduced incompetence and lies into the information sector. It was only natural for the movement to attack the most direct effects of sectarianism that prevailed in the information sector: unpaid legal bonuses, inequitable salaries for the newspapers in question, bonuses paid in some cases and not in others, disparities in the classification grades of overly rated posts and disadvantaged posts. Journalists' salaries have risen by 40 to 50 percent, but we have not mentioned the most important point: There have been no raises; rather, the law has been applied. We have recovered our legal bonuses, which the divided union could not effectively demand. And there has been standardization: Today, all journalists have the right to the same benefits, regardless of the newspaper they work for. And there is the other basic demand: the free exercise of their profession, that is, the right to say that such and such is black if one sees it as black and red if one sees it as red, that there will be no more dismissals nor prohibitions of signing [articles] or of assignments for having reported the actual events, for having refused to lie. It is the battle that is still to be fought and which the journalists will fight alongside all Algerians who really desire democracy, freedom of intellectual and artistic expression, of the natural genius of the people with respect for pluralism of opinion. From now on, I can say that nothing that involves information will any longer be done without the journalists thanks to the movement's presence. The information code will be drafted in collaboration with professionals (unlike the 1982 code) and at the ministry they have begun to discuss a paper on editorial committees (to be posted at all newspapers) with movement representatives. The battle to liberate the information sector promises to be a tough one, but I believe the journalists will fight it and then the sector's professional richness will explode to enrich the press and even more so our social, cultural, and political life in general."

The stakes are in fact high. Let's listen to Amar Bekhouche again: "The journalist's responsibility is to deliver his commentary simply, without giving the reader or viewer all the elements of a news item. This way we serve neither the viewer nor the event, anything, or anybody. This way of handling information, of always thinking of it as going from the top to the bottom and never the other way round, also played a role, among other things, in the process that led to 5 October. The newspapers and the journalists were in part responsible for it. Considering the problems the whole society was experiencing in the factories and in the streets, if these

problems had been handled by the news media in an objective manner, perhaps there would have been less violence, less tragedy...."

So, what is at issue is to act in such a way that the future will follow other paths. And the future is created in the present. At what point are we and where is the movement headed? For Mustapha Hamici (ACH CHAAB), the pluralism that has up to now been affirmed in movement position papers as one of its fundamental characteristics will pose a problem if it is supposed to characterize the future journalist organization: "While democracy permits a multiplicity of points of view within a single framework, pluralism applied in this political direction will disserve journalist unity more than it will serve it. The first ACH CHAAB general assembly preferred to retain the following characteristics for the future journalist organization: a single, democratic, and autonomous organization. Single because there are few journalists and, if it were not [single], they would lose their effectiveness. Democratic because it will be representative, and here too this is a requirement for being effective. And autonomous especially in the basic structural sense. As for political autonomy, that's another story: If the journalists want to act within the framework that exists in the country today, this is the solution. Now, if they want to depart from this framework, that's another problem and in that event it remains to be discussed. In any event, discussion is at present in progress on the outlook for the movement's organic status, although personally I prefer to speak of the outlook for journalists' organic status, for journalists as a whole. We now have to go back to the journalist rank and file, resume discussion through general assemblies in all the newspapers, and in this way all the problems will be resolved, those involving organic status, protection [under the law] or others. The rank and file will settle the matter."

Bachir Rezzoug (EL-MOUDJAHID) ties the future to the past: "Today, the Journalist Movement is something wonderful. For me, it comes under the heading of a continuity, the continuation of the courageous actions that have marked the history of journalism in our country. I recall that 20 years ago at EL-MOUDJAHID when Mohamed Morsli was the manager, courage was required of us to expose the ferry scandal. Today, that may seem trite, but at the time it had to be done. That too is progress and continuity. Under difficult circumstances, we had to resort to trickery, send messages to be decoded at several levels when we couldn't say things openly. At LA REPUBLIQUE we ran a column, "The Great Tricks," in which we clearly demonstrated what was going to happen to the agrarian revolution: the freezes, the acts of sabotage. We were called leftists, charged with being the agrarian revolution paper. It was just the opposite. Our copy had to be decoded. What I

think now is that the movement should create a journalist organization that will be an indispensable and incontrovertible partner in everything that involves information. Regardless of which political forces will be leading or participating in the leadership of the country tomorrow...."

For Ammar Belhimer (EL-MOUDJAHID), while "presently in its [the movement's] ascendant phase, the focal point that is mobilizing people undeniably sets value on settling our socioprofessional problems: the struggle against censure, arbitrary action, and prohibitions, it will also be the future organization's focal point because it is just and will get people to rally to it. The contribution of the next phase will no doubt be affirmation of the professional aspect [of our organization]. Professionalism is the cement of tomorrow, of our future organization. It is just as necessary, even incontrovertible, for professionalism to be a practical means of transcending the necessary and desirable coexistence of different political preferences (the term has already appeared as the 11th principle in our draft of an ethical charter dated June 1988). Effective assumption of responsibility for all of the profession's problems will be achieved through the creation of an autonomous and independent, united, pluralistic, and democratic organization. Its independent nature will not, however, exclude it from being a participant in our people's long-standing struggles for progress and social justice. Because it will have been the forerunner of many struggles, it will at the right time recognize all its own kind of people in a civil society built about the common aspiration for a totally free and objective information sector. Tomorrow's alliances will be voluntary in nature. Among the free and equal social partners of tomorrow's common front, the family of journalists can contribute a kind of dynamism that many people already suspect will be brilliant, broadly based and profound."

Let's borrow the conclusion Omar Outilane (AL-MASSA) reaches: "The movement is already tomorrow's common front: patriotic, open, democratic, pluralistic."

Tomorrow now.

## BAHRAIN

### Optimism in Oil Industry Voiced

44000472e Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
13 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] His Excellency the Prime Minister Shaykh Khalifa Ibn-Salman Al-Khalifa voiced optimism for the future of the oil industry yesterday, when he chaired the weekly Cabinet meeting.

The Premier also stressed the importance of the industry's role in stimulating economic development in GCC [Gulf Corporation Council] countries.



The 6th Middle East Oil Show, being held in Bahrain, reflected the high technology adopted by Gulf national oil companies, he said.

Foreign Minister Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Mubarak Al-Khalifa briefed the Cabinet on the outcome of the 30th session of the GCC Ministerial Council, held in Riyadh.

Ministers also discussed a memorandum from the Minister of State for Legal Affairs, Dr Husayn al-Baharnah, on a draft law calling for the establishment of a special court to deal with discrimination cases.

Both the Minister of State for Legal Affairs and the Minister of Justice and Islamic Affairs spoke about the articles of the proposed law.

The Cabinet approved the draft law, which will be referred to the Amir for endorsement.

#### **Causeway Building Project Reported**

44000472a Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
4 Apr 89 p 1

[Text] The second causeway between Manama and Muharraq moved a step nearer yesterday with the appointment of consultants for the design.

Approval came from the Projects Committee, chaired by His Excellency the Prime Minister, Shaykh Khalifa Ibn-Salman Al-Khalifa. The consultants' name was not announced.

Other construction projects totalling BD5 million were given the go-ahead by the Committee.

They include new headquarters for Public Works Affairs, new premises for Hamad Town Co-operative Society and sewerage schemes at Sitrah and Salmabad.

The second causeway project is expected to cost a total of BD20.8 million and the crossing is planned to run from the King Faysal Highway, near the Holiday Inn Hotel, swinging slightly north to cross the Al Ghaws highway on Muharraq, and join the old Airport Avenue.

#### **Expected**

Work is expected to take just over two years to complete, and although no starting date has been announced, last year officials said it was hoped work would be completed "by 1992."

Once the second crossing is in use, work is scheduled to begin on flyover junctions at both ends of the existing crossing, to improve traffic flow.

#### **Ministers Briefed on Bid for Joint Ventures**

44000459a Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
27 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Government ministers were briefed on possible joint industrial projects by Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait at yesterday's weekly Cabinet meeting, chaired by HE [His Excellency] the Prime Minister, Shaykh Khalifa Ibn-Salman Al Khalifah.

Development Minister Yusuf Shirawi reported on his meetings last week with Saudi Industry and Electricity Minister 'Abd-al-Aziz al-zamil and Kuwaiti Oil Minister Shaykh 'Ali Khalifa Al-Sabah on possible joint ventures on the island.

#### **Approved**

The Cabinet also reviewed the forthcoming visits to Bahrain by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and Home Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Ministers approved a draft law covering the practice of medicine and dentistry.

Health Minister Jawad al-'Aryaid reported on the recent international environment protection conference in Basle, Switzerland.

Information Minister Tariq al-Mu'ayyad briefed the Cabinet on his visit to Pakistan and Labour Minister Shaykh Khalifa Ibn-Salman Ibn-Muhammad Al Khalifah outlined the issues discussed by Arab labour ministers in Rabat.

#### **Joint Industrial Ventures With Eastern Bloc Expected**

44000472d Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
13 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] Industrial joint ventures between Bahrain and Eastern bloc countries may be set up, according to Hungarian and Romanian firms taking part in the 6th Middle East Oil Show.

Mr Zsolt Vida, head of foreign trade, department, for the Hungarian National Oil and Gas Trust, said Bahrain might become the first Gulf country to have a real joint venture with Hungary. "We had a special office in Kuwait but it was not the real solution for us," he said.

Meanwhile, a representative of Romania's Industrial Export Import Company said preliminary talks had already been held with several Bahraini companies, which he hoped would prove fruitful.

The show, at the Exhibition Centre, attracted 1,000 visitors on the first day.

**Island Leads in Industrial Output**

44000472h Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
14 Mar 89 p 14

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] Bahrain has the highest per capita industrial production in the Gulf, according to a UN study.

The study, by the UN Economic and Social Commission for West Asia (ESCWA), has found that Bahrain's per capita industrial production is about four times that of Saudi Arabia, Qatar and UAE [United Arab Emirates].

Highlights of the study appear in an industrial directory, titled Made in the Arab World: The GCC [Gulf Corporation Council] Countries recently published by Falcon Publishing.

The information is contained in a paper by Dr P.K. Pillai, managing editor of the directory.

According to the UN study, Bahrain's per capita value of manufacturing was \$1,605 (BD605) in 1981, up from \$626 (BD236) in 1960 and \$740 (BD278) in 1970.

The structure of the rise has not changed much since 1981, the study says.

Another ESCWA study has found that Bahrain leads other Arab countries in exports of manufactured goods.

In 1985, manufactured products accounted for 97 percent of the island's total exports.

According to Made in the Arab World estimates, manufactured goods accounted for 99 percent of total exports in 1988.

In his paper, Dr Pillai says that simultaneously Bahrain's exports of oil products have declined after the oil boom.

Exports of oil and oil products declined from BD960 million in 1985 to BD741 million in 1986 and BD739 million in 1987.

In contrast, non-oil exports increased from BD141 million in 1985 to BD163 million in 1987.

"Bahrain has also started exporting hi-tech products such as computer components and computer software," Dr Pillai said.

He said a few leading private sector units have been supplying software to other Middle East countries and to the UK.

**Island Study of Plan for Finance Outlined**

44000459b Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
23 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] A major bid to boost island financial markets is underway, says the Bahrain Monetary Agency (BMA).

New Government moves to attract foreign investors, diversify national income, and create more employment opportunities for nationals are spelled out in a comprehensive study.

There are also plans to encourage establishment of investment funds, and to offer treasury bills to the public, not just banks, says a report in today's AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ newspaper.

The newspaper, quoting official BMA sources, says laws may be relaxed to allow offshore and investment banks to operate in local and foreign bonds on behalf of nationals.

Non-residents could indirectly invest in local shares through special funds.

Non-nationals may also be allowed to own 45 percent of a local company's shares.

All offshore and investment banks could be permitted to join the Stock Exchange either directly or as a broker, suggests the study.

A strict system of licences is proposed, allowing only bona fide firms to operate in the local market.

**Unemployment Statistics Reported**

44000472g Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
12 Mar 89 p 5

[Text] Up to 10,000 Bahrainis may be out of work, an unemployment rate of 10 percent, according to Labour Director Abd-al-Rahman al-Zayyani.

Mr al-Zayyani said that 3,000 jobless Bahrainis were registered with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, but most out-of-work people did not register, particularly women.

Mr al-Zayyani, quoted in Arabic newspaper SADA AL-USBU', said the real figure was "between 8,000 and 10,000, representing about 10 percent of the island's total workforce, which is a worrying figure."

He attributed the figure to an economic slowdown following the decline in oil prices, rising birth rates and the availability of cheap expatriate labour.

**Islamic Trading Company Established**

44000459c Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
26 Mar 89 p 14

[Text] Manama: The Islamic Trading Company with an authorised capital of US\$100 million (BD37.7 million) was formed in Bahrain yesterday at a meeting attended by leading bank officials and businessmen.

The Islamic Trading Company will have its headquarters in Bahrain in view of its favourable environment and its status as an international financial centre, according to a decision at the Preparatory Committee meeting.

The meeting was hosted on behalf of the Faysal Islamic Bank of Bahrain by its managing director Mr Nabil Nasif.

Mr Nasif said the Company would promote trade of Islamic countries by utilising resources of financial institutions which will not only be participating in the share capital but also in financing trade.

**Agreement for High-Technology Aluminum Signed**

44000472c Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
4 Apr 89 p 2

[Text] Manama: A Saudi company which uses aluminium extrusions from Bahrain's Balexco factory has signed a hi-tech licensing deal with a U.S. group.

Al-Zamil Aluminium will manufacture specialised building products under licence from America's Construction Specialties International.

"The agreement marks the first occasion on which high technology aluminium systems for the construction sector will be available from a source in the Middle East," said managing director Sulayman al-Zamil.

Products covered by the licence include louvre systems, grilles, sunshades and railings.

Al-Zamil Aluminium has a 17,000 square metre factory and warehouse in Dammam, Saudi Arabia, employing 460 people.

Polyester powder coatings for aluminium extrusions are produced at the firm's plant in Bahrain.

**New Water Mains Save Millions of Gallons**

44000472f Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
11 Mar 89 p 4

[Text] Bahrain is saving a million gallons of water a day, following the replacement of old supply pipes, a water official has revealed.

It was estimated two years ago that nearly 3,000 million gallons of water a year was lost due to leakages in faulty pipe work and careless construction work.

A programme was launched to rapidly detect water leaks throughout the island and replace old mains.

"Our efforts have yielded good results so far as evident in last year's figures," said Mr Sayf 'Isa al-Binali, director of water supplies.

"Leakages in the network was down to 15,868 cases, last year from 22,758 cases in 1982," he said.

He said the figures related to visible leaks and a study was being carried out on the invisible leaks in the network.

This programme would continue until the early 1990's, said Mr al-Binali.

**High-Technology Irrigation Offered**

44000472b Manama GULF DAILY NEWS in English  
5 Apr 89 p 5

[Text] Canada has offered its assistance to Bahrain in water preservation and irrigation projects.

'Abd-al-Nabi al-Shu'lah, board member of the Chamber of Commerce and chairman of Falcon Publishing, who has just returned from Canada where he was a government guest, said the climatic conditions of Alberta were similar to that of Bahrian.

"It is ideal for Bahrain to adopt the agricultural technology used by the Canadian province."

"The government of Canada has offered its technical assistance to Bahrian in the areas of water preservation and irrigation."

He also visited various agricultural institutes and research centres in Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Edmonton.

**EGYPT**

**Austrian Trade Accord Praised as Alternative to Loans**

45040198A Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 19 Jan 88 p 7

[Commentary in "No Problems" Column by Ahmad Zayn]

[Text] There is no doubt that the agreement signed with Austria is ideal for future projects. This agreement is not based on new loans, but rather is based on other things as alternatives to these loans.



The most important term of this agreement is the one calling for the stimulation of Egyptian exports to Austria to remedy the balance of trade. By doing so, Austrian economists will give us an important advantage in knowing the needs of the market there. They undoubtedly are more aware of market needs in their country and they certainly will choose their imports wisely so that the merchandise would be in demand and would sell.

I wish that in every joint project with any country, the loan would be paid off in the form of production, for we do have the necessary skills, the natural resources and the manpower to produce goods at reasonable prices. Unlike loans, paying for the project in products rather than money makes companies undertaking the project intent on producing good-quality merchandise and eager to base the project on sound bases. Loans mean that lenders will be repaid in full and countries granting loans do not have to worry about the project's success or failure because they will get their money back whether the project succeeds or fails.

Therefore, if we want to have successful joint projects, we must involve the countries collaborating with us in the production process. In this case, we should make sure that the economic basis of the project would be successful, that work would proceed soundly and that production would be of such a quality as to be marketable in foreign markets.

Moreover, paying for the project in products will save us the interest we have to pay, which compounds year after year in one way or another.

Whereas this is true of production projects, it cannot be applied to services projects which, I think, must be exempted from such restrictions. I heard some people in the Peoples Assembly say that services projects that have been completed were superfluous and that Japan, for example, did not have a sewage system until a few years ago.

To these people I say that sewage projects in Egypt became a necessity when sewers flooded the streets. Had we not completed these projects, we would have been living in a pool of sewage, spreading disease, filling homes with bad odors and turning life into hell.

All services projects in Egypt have been undertaken in accordance with an urgent need. I think we ought to meet with thanks rather than criticism all those that have been completed.

**Zaki Badr Says Communist Group Discovered**  
*NC1404145489 Cairo MENA in Arabic*  
1328 GMT 14 Apr 89

[Text] Cairo—Interior Minister Zaki Badr has declared that the security authorities recently discovered a communist group in al-Mansurah and arrested some of its members in the Governorate of Alexandria.

The interior minister stated this during a meeting with Alexandria University professors. The minister added that the group instigated revolt and sedition. It also exploited the bad economic conditions through which the country is passing.

A security source has stated that interrogation of the new group is expected to be completed tomorrow, after which the state supreme security prosecutor will consider further interrogation.

**NDP, Czechoslovak Communist Party Sign Protocol**

*NC2103053089 Cairo MENA in Arabic*  
2108 GMT 20 Mar 89

[Text] A cooperation protocol between the National Democratic Party [NDP] and the Czechoslovak Communist Party was signed at the NDP Headquarters in Cairo this evening. The protocol provides for the exchange of information and expertise, the coordination of joint positions, and the exchange of views on various issues and problems of common interest. The protocol was signed by Yusuf Wali, NDP secretary general, and Dr Michal Stefanak, chairman of the International Policies Committee in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, who is currently visiting Cairo. The signing ceremony was attended by Milos Vesely, the Czechoslovak ambassador in Cairo.

Following the signing of the protocol, the two sides held a meeting and discussed ways to strengthen relations between the two countries in the various fields. The Czechoslovak side emphasized the importance of promoting the peace process in the Middle East, as well as the importance of the role which Egypt is fulfilling to convene an international conference for peace. The Czechoslovak side also stressed the Palestinian people's right to regain their occupied territory and establish their Palestinian state.

**AAPSO Delegation Holds Symposium on Peace Agreements**

*45040203B Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Jan 89 p 8*

[Article by 'Aydah al-'Azab Musa: "Do Not Expose the Nation's Weakness"]

[Text] I do not know why I thought of Sa'd Zaghlul while I was sitting watching the "Horizons of Peace in the Middle East" symposium organized by the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Committee. Sa'd Zaghlul often used to admonish his interlocutors "not to expose the nation's weakness," directing his words to two factions: those who demanded of him more than he and the then-national movement could deliver and those who charged after any sign of agreement with the occupiers, building hopes and dreams about its utility and the national goals of which it was worthy.

The symposium centered around the Palestinian question, the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular. It did not discuss any of the other war-and-peace issues of the Middle East such as the Iran-Iraq war, the Libya-Chad war, the Polisario-Morocco war, the insurgencies in south Sudan, or the Lebanese wars. None of these issues received any attention save for the Iran-Iraq war, which was the subject of a single paper, which was quickly put away, after which the participants went on to the subject of Arab-Israeli relations.

Hence, we do not know why the title picked for the symposium was so general, even though the papers, topics, and all the attention of the participants manifestly underscored the fact that it was convened for the sole purpose of discussing Arab-Israeli relations. We had hoped that the title would lend the symposium more credibility. Choosing the title, "Horizons of the Arab-Israeli Conflict," would have given it more importance.

The symposium was convened at the invitation of Arab and foreign politicians and scholars. Foreign attendance was represented by the United States and the Soviet Union, who sent prominent personalities who are interested in Middle East issues or who shape Middle East policies. Egyptian attendance was dominated by scholars, journalists, and politicians. Furthermore, Minister of State Dr Butrus Ghali's chairmanship of one of the sessions, not to mention the attendance of a number of Egyptian diplomats, lent a semiofficial quality to the symposium. Perusal of papers and speeches presented at the symposium led to the general observation that the foreign presence was "representational." We got the feeling that the speeches of the American Killman or the Russian Ovasiliev expressed the point of view of political institutions in their countries rather than their own personal thoughts and, therefore, carried political instructions and formulated a vision of events consistent with policies followed by either one of these two countries. However, the Egyptian and Arab points of view, their significance, seriousness, and depth notwithstanding, were closer to individual personal expressions interspersed with viewpoints in a haphazard way, save for the PLO representative Khalid al-Hasan.

What made me think of Sa'd Zaghlul was the fact that the symposium included a number of papers and speeches that did not offer much hope for a decisive solution any time soon or in the distant future, a characteristic that predominated in the American and Russian speeches. This was followed by comments made by a large number of Egyptian and Arab participants who offered hope and expectations not based on any practical positions, promises of practical positions, or expectation of practical positions by the concerned countries such as America, Israel, or those who can apply pressure, such as Russia or the European countries.

On the contrary, we find Judith Kipper, professor of Middle East Studies at the Brookings Institute, defending the Israeli position and referring to the international

conference which is being called for as a sham, saying that not only does Israel refuse to attend it but there is no call for it. We find Harvard professor Killman in turn reminding us at the outset about President al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, lauding the recent Palestinian position and pointing out that the document declaring a Palestinian state derives its legitimacy from the 1947 UN resolution (the partition resolution) from which Israel draws its legitimacy and existence. He then warned us that the Israeli government was not ready at this point to negotiate with the Arab side and, thereupon, asked us to accept more concessions as if we have anything else to offer.

As for the Russian side, it was expressed by Kapitsa, chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, who said that he was not optimistic, that recent developments in Israel did indicate progress in the Israeli position on peace, that the Israelis are still refusing to communicate with the Palestinians, and that the hoped-for international conference required from one to three years to prepare for. As for Alex Vasiliev, he viewed the current Soviet policy toward Israel and the question of peace and conflict in the Middle East from the same angle used to look at relations between the two superpowers. As far as he is concerned, Israel is nothing but a policeman for American interests. To his mind, there is no real enmity between the Palestinians and Arabs, on the one hand and Israel, on the other. He believes that the whole thing hinges on Israel's relationship with America and therefore, if tension is eased between the two superpowers, America's reliance on Israel would diminish and Israel's relationship with America would be undermined. This, as he sees it, is in the interest of the Arabs. He does not hold much hope for an easy peaceful solution, meanwhile ruling out a military settlement and alluding to a proposal to establish a federated or confederated union between the Arabs and Israel not to be called Israel or Palestine. Hence, he proposed the name of Palestine, for the survival and restitution of which we have so dearly paid, be simply and calmly dropped. This is the solution he brings to us in our own backyard with no one to dispute or question him.

Then came the speeches of the Egyptian Arabs that reminded me of Sa'd Zaghlul's expression: "Do not expose the nation's weakness."

This was manifested by the tone of optimism and bliss that pervaded some papers and speeches. In searching for a realistic basis for such optimism and hope we do not find it, as we have said, in practical potentials of Israeli and American policy, but rather in the step we Arabs have taken in declaring a Palestinian state, a position that accepts and recognizes the existence of the state of Israel and the legitimacy of its existence. I was surprised at this optimism, which is prompted not by the adversary's magnanimity toward us or recognition of any of our rights, but by our magnanimity toward our adversary and our acknowledgment of its existence. This

sense of victory did not stem from the fact that we have triumphed over the enemy, but rather that we triumphed over ourselves by accepting what we had not accepted before. This may be a sound and realistic assessment, and it may be the only one possible at this time, but it will never be a cause for joy or hope.

In this atmosphere we read the paper presented by Emil Habibi, who disclaimed the charge that the Arabs set themselves against the 1947 Partition Resolution and denied that the Palestinian Arab people opposed the resolution, saying that it actually prevented them from expressing their will, as though he meant to say that had the Palestinian Arabs had a chance in 1948 to vote on the establishment of the state of Israel, they would have welcomed it. He did not refer to the 1947 UN resolution as the partition resolution, as it is commonly known, but called it the resolution for the evacuation of the colonialist (British) forces and the independence of Palestine in two sovereign states!

We also noted some attempts to draw from the past a legacy for making peace with the Zionists, saying that we have recognized the existence of Israel since 1949 and that it is wrong to say that we have been turning down peace ever since.

All these statements were written and expressed and were heard by the audience without comment, examination, or objection.

Are we not right, therefore, to conclude from this that some of us have now started to disavow the virtues of the past and the struggle of our fathers and forefathers and want to disclaim radiant pages in our history which say that we once opposed with our own hands injustice and oppression and defended our land and our homes in a way different from the one we are now following? Based on such statements, are we not right to conclude or expect to hear in the near or far future condemnation of the Arabs' wars against Israel in 1956, 1967, and 1973?

There are those who look at peace and see that hope in it has become a realistic goal, not because the aggressor has stopped his aggression, but because we have altered our ideas toward the aggressor, labeling our old attitudes as ancient and timeworn ideas.

We, of course, are not against the recent steps taken on the Palestinian question, because we had no other choice, and because these steps may lead to some good or may ward off part of the evil. We imagine that these steps have been necessitated by the aftermath of the present conditions at the Arab level from the time the Camp David Accords were signed in 1979 or from al-Sadat's visit to Israel in 1977 up until now, through the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the attack on and splintering and uprooting of the Palestinian resistance at the hands of certain Arab powers. All these conditions must be kept in mind when we evaluate the recent

resolutions, and we must accept them within the framework of motives and circumstances which they have engendered throughout the past 10 years.

However, we cannot deny our history or disavow our past virtues or blame ourselves for our setbacks. We cannot view Arab and Palestinian acceptance of the state of Israel as a sudden and dazzling discovery of what is right after 40 years of political delusion.

At this point, significant words that struck a successful balance between the current conditions and self-consciousness were uttered at the symposium. Mr Amin Huwaydah warned against thinking that peace means the complete elimination of the struggle, because peace in this sense does not exist. Peace at this time could mean the halting of confrontations that use armed forces as their means. He did not close the door but left it in the form of a question, asking: "Are we going to avoid using force in resolving differences?" He also mentioned that the intended peace is to proceed with the realization of imperfect rather than perfect goals and will not lead to perfect security. He pointed out that the Soviet Union is now expanding the emigration of Jews to Israel and wondered what it is getting in return. He said everyone—the Arabs, the Palestinians and the Soviet Union—has changed, except for America and Israel.

One last observation: The symposium convened and ended without saying anything about Jerusalem. Jerusalem in the symposium was like a child lost at the end of the Prophet's birthday celebration, depicted by Salah Jahin in his movie: "A Child Is Missing, All You Good People."

#### **Writer Questions Shura Election Law, Calls for Dissolution**

*45040203A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 24 Jan 89 p 5*

[Article by Muhammad Hilmi Murad: "Dissolution of Shura Council Necessary"]

[Text] As the date of the Shura Council elections draws near and allegedly in response to a demand from the opposition parties, the regime has come out with a new Shura Council Law amendment bill. This bill calls for replacing the system whereby two-thirds of the Shura Council members are elected on party slates with an absolute majority and 5 percent of the total national vote by the individual election system. This would increase the size of the councils's membership and, consequently, its budget, while maintaining the right of the president to appoint the remaining third without any special conditions or specifications.

The truth of the matter is that this amendment cannot have arisen from firm belief in the unsuitability of the absolute slate system, for the regime only two months ago insisted on holding local council elections under this system over the objection of the opposition parties who were compelled to boycott them.



However, what prompted the regime to rush into this Shura Council Law amendment was an anticipated Supreme Constitutional Court ruling to accept a motion contesting the constitutionality of the absolute slate system filed by attorney 'Abd-al-Halim Ramadan al-Muhami. He deserves all our thanks and appreciation for taking it upon himself through court actions filed to correct faults and uncover corruption and excesses following a long two-and-a-half-year judicial process that began with a court action filed with the Council of State's administrative court on 19 August 1986 that gave him permission to file his contestation with the Constitutional Court. This contestation was referred to the court commissioners, who decided to accept the contestation. The State Cases Board asked for a postponement to prepare its argument, and the court adjourned until the 15th of next April. [passage omitted]

The fact is that the enactment of a new law amending the present Shura Council election law does not provide for the dissolution of the council upon enactment, but rather goes into effect during the next elections. Rulings handed down by the Supreme Constitutional Court must be carried out the day they are put into effect, as we have already stated (Article 49 of the Constitutional Court Law).

I do not believe that these facts and legal truths have escaped the Minister of State for People's Assembly and Shura Council Affairs, who is a law professor. Rather, he imagines that by giving these twisted interpretations he is fostering the regime's wrong positions while he is duty bound to present to the regime and the people alike the proper legal application in order to correct the official course, on the one hand, and to preserve people's confidence in official statements, on the other hand.

#### **Honest Elections More Important Than Electoral Method Modification**

More important than comparing various electoral methods is the legislation of regulations that can ensure free and impartial elections when such methods become equal under government intervention and falsification of the nation's will. Compared to the method of election by slates with proportional representation based on the number of votes won by each slate, the individual election system may indeed make it easier on the government to rig the elections and exclude a large number of opposition members. A government candidate has to beat the opposition candidate by only one vote to win the election, thus negating all the votes the other one receives. Under election by proportional (unconditional) slates, a percentage of the seats goes to the opposition based on the number of votes its slate receives.

This is what prompted the opposition parties to issue the collective decision pertaining to this matter, declaring that their primary electoral demand was to guarantee the integrity and honesty of the electoral process, something that can be achieved by a judicial committee taking

charge of the electoral process from A to Z instead of the interior ministry whose practices in this regard have been challenged before and after the revolution. [passage omitted]

If President Husni Mubarak and his regime firmly believe that the alleged democratic course needs to be corrected, the only way open to him is to institute guarantees that can deter rigging and undermining of the people's will. For without impartial and clean elections, there cannot be true democracy worthy of this name.

Failure to establish such guarantees underscores the regime's determination to continue to rig the elections, or else why reject and ignore them?

#### **Is Election Rigging an Inevitable Phenomenon in Egypt?**

However, rather than everyone, the press in particular, banding together to do away with the election-rigging phenomenon that wrecks democracy from its very roots in Egypt, the editor in chief of UKTUBAR magazine last week came out with an article in which he tried to kill the popular demand the opposition is advocating, namely total judicial supervision of the electoral process.

He said that the judiciary had 4,000 members, while the number of election committees was over 20,000, thus requiring that the country be divided into five districts and that elections be held on five different days and that the vote count be delayed until all the polls in the districts are closed. Thus, results from one district would not influence the other districts and waiting for the votes to be counted—according to him—would increase the chances of tampering with the ballot boxes during the waiting period!

It is as if he meant to say that there are no guarantees against election rigging and cheating, that all proposals to this effect are doomed to failure, that falsification of the nation's will is inevitable, and that there is no chance of setting up a sound democracy in our country. This creates the need to resort to violence and illegal underground methods to effect the desired change instead of leaving it to the voters to decide in free and impartial elections!

The facts on which he based his contention that election rigging is inevitable are open to question, as manifested by the following:

- The judiciary and the prosecution alone have about 4,400 members. Add to them the membership of the other judicial agencies such as the Council of State and the Administrative Prosecution and their number goes up to 6,500.
- Dividing election committees into more than 20,000 subcommittees is overkill aimed at fragmenting and breaking them, given the fact that the country has about 4,000 villages, none of which, including those

that include four polling stations, need more than one committee. If we add to them the governorate capitals and district center committees, we find that we do not need more than half the currently proposed number. We all may have noticed that these committees spend most of their time on election day waiting with nothing to do and that they often wind up their work in the villages before the day is over!

- Elections should be held on a weekend, as is the practice in advanced democratic countries, in order to save work and production time, on the one hand, and to allow voting to be staggered over a full day instead of voters showing up all at once after working hours. Moreover, all the members of the judiciary can be called upon to help because they do not work on weekends.
- It is enough to divide the country into two electoral districts (Upper and Lower Egypt) whereby elections are held in each one on separate days so that election committees can cover the elections fully and extensively. This would not be the only country to hold elections in stages. The best example in this regard are the American elections that are held in the various states one by one.

We ask all those who have proposals or comments to focus them on preventing rigging and cheating with a view to guaranteeing free and impartial election, and not in bolstering falsification and the undermining of the nation's will. May God have mercy on you.

#### **Present Shura Council States Does Not Justify Its Survival**

Our discussion of the elections in general, however, should not distract us from revealing the way things are in the Shura Council that has set off this discussion by amending its electoral system in anticipation of the Supreme Constitutional Court ruling on its unconstitutionality.

Hence, the Shura Council—with respect for its current members—must be abolished in order to save the millions spent on it in this economic crisis and to spare the efforts expended on its debates and reports which no official or person in power honors or puts to good use.

#### **Al-Barzani Interviewed on Formation of New Opposition Front**

44040289 Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 28 Jan 89 p 8

["Text" of interview with Mas'ud al-Barzani, Kurdistan Democratic Party chairman, by Muna Sukkariyah in Damascus; date not given]

[Text] Damascus—Mas'ud al-Barzani, the Kurdistan Democratic Party chairman, has stated that an "Iraqi opposition front will be declared shortly. There are ongoing negotiations on this issue." He also noted that the ideological obstacles connected with the issue have been overcome.

He stressed that "there is no solution for the Kurdish issue without a comprehensive solution for Iraq."

Al-Barzani also expressed regret for the "loss of a precious opportunity after the Iranian revolution's triumph," noting that evil forces played a malicious role in stirring problems between the Kurds and the revolution."

Here is the text of the interview conducted with al-Barzani in Damascus:

[AL-SAFIR] Where do you live these days, and where do you stand at the level of political action concerning the Kurdish issue?

[Al-Barzani] I am now in Damascus where I have come for a visit.

[AL-SAFIR] Do you reside here permanently?

[Al-Barzani] No, I live in Kurdistan, Iraq, and at times in Iran. I also live at times in Europe and at times here. I live mostly in Kurdistan, where my permanent residence is.

[AL-SAFIR] Regarding the political situation...?

[Al-Barzani] We are satisfied with our political position because the Kurdish issue occupies a distinguished place at the national and international levels.

[AL-SAFIR] What are the features of the emergence of the position of which you talk?

[Al-Barzani] This position has emerged due to many reasons, the most significant being the Kurdish people's sacrifices, the firm and sound policy we have followed, the Arab liberation movement's understanding of the Kurdish people's cause and of the fateful relationship between the Arab and Kurdish peoples, whether in Iraq or in the entire Arab homeland, and the Kurdish movement's refrainment from seeking any independent solution as long as the issue of the Iraqi people in their entirety is not solved.

[AL-SAFIR] Where does your issue stand internationally, especially since it has been raised repeatedly in the wake of the use of chemical weapons against Kurdistan's citizens. Where does the issue stand now and who is moving it?

[Al-Barzani] It is true that there are many who raise the Kurdish issue, but only when a certain incident, such as the use of chemical weapons against the Kurds, occurs. There are racist practices. There is oppression and terrorism. Villages are demolished and all kinds of steps are taken to alter the geographic and national reality. Of course, the major crime was perpetrated when chemical weapons were used on a large scale, victimizing many women and children. This incident stirred the feelings of

many in the world. This is a very important issue that concerns human rights and every man's life. If a man lacks nationality and citizenship rights, then he should at least have the right to live. Greater attention must be paid whenever a criminal dictator thinks of using such weapons. This issue has stirred world public opinion. There are, of course, numerous countries that have raised this issue, some of them condemning Iraq explicitly and some implicitly. In any case, the Kurdish issue has found its way into international assemblies, meaning that it has proven its presence and has imposed itself internationally. But if the question is what specific circle supports the issue, then our issue has not yet reached this point.

[AL-SAFIR] Before asking about your relations with the major powers, we wish to ask you about the most prominent forces in Kurdistan and about the degree of coordination between these forces on the Kurdish issue.

[Al-Barzani] There is Iraq's Kurdistan Front which includes the Kurdistan Democratic Party, the Kurdistan National Union, the Kurdistan Socialist Party, the Democratic People's Party of Kurdistan, and (Fasuk). There is coordination and joint action within the Front which has a political leadership that directs our people's struggle there. The Kurdistan Province of the Iraqi Communist Party is also in the Front.

#### Opposition Front

[AL-SAFIR] Reports have been circulated about the imminent declaration of an opposition front that includes Iraq's various political forces. What point has this front reached?

[Al-Barzani] Out of our belief that the Kurdish issue must be solved jointly with the Iraqi people's issue, we cannot seek a separate solution for the Kurdish issue when no democracy exists in Iraq, meaning that the Kurdish issue cannot be solved under the canopy of a dictatorial regime. Therefore, the more successful way to achieve this end is to create a comprehensive Iraqi front. We have struggled for many years to create this front. All the parties concerned have now developed the conviction that the time has come. Numerous endeavors have been made recently by the main opposition forces, namely the Islamic movement, the Kurdish movement, the pan-Arab current, and the democratic current. Numerous important accomplishments have been made, and we hope that the front will be declared shortly because the talks on this issue continue.

#### Front Declaration

[AL-SAFIR] When and at what time will the front be declared?

[Al-Barzani] We hope, but I cannot offer an estimate of the time.

[AL-SAFIR] What are the obstacles impeding declaration of the said front?

[Al-Barzani] Numerous things previously constituting an obstacle have been accomplished.

[AL-SAFIR] For example?

[Al-Barzani] For example, the ideological issues, the front's tasks in case the regime falls, and the front's representation of all the Iraqi people's factions in the government. What remains are some technical issues.

[AL-SAFIR] Was Jalal Talabani's tour of the United States coordinated with you or did he make it independently?

[Al-Barzani] He made the tour independently, but he then familiarized us with his activities.

[AL-SAFIR] What are the current conditions in Kurdistan?

[Al-Barzani] The conditions are very tragic, especially since the use of chemical weapons. A total of 4,000 villages have been destroyed. The mountainous area's inhabitants have been evicted and have either been forcefully resettled in camps called modern villages, which are in fact detention camps, or have fled to Iran or Turkey. When the Gulf war ended, the Iraqi regime devoted all its land and air forces to striking the Kurdish people but failed to achieve its objectives. So it resorted to the use of chemical weapons. Of course, there is armed resistance now but with a different method, i.e., with guerrilla warfare tactics, not the frontal resistance method. As for the citizens' life, it is bitter and miserable. Moreover, the life of those who have taken refuge in other countries is not a happy one.

#### Iraqi Situation

[AL-SAFIR] What is your view of the situation inside Iraq?

[Al-Barzani] The 8-year war has generated very serious problems and complications but their ramifications have not yet fully materialized. However, the Iraqi people are entitled to ask about the human and material losses and to wonder why this war erupted in the first place. As a result of the war, many youths have been lost and the national economy has been destroyed. These losses generate numerous problems. Cessation of the war does not mean that the regime remains strong.

The major problems will surface now. According to the information received, there is a liquidation movement among the officers' ranks and there are numerous internal problems which have reached the family level.



[AL-SAFIR] Your relationship with the regime has been in an ebb and flow in past years. What is your assessment of this relationship?

[Al-Barzani] It is essential to discuss this point. The Kurdish revolution in Iraq erupted in 1961. This does not mean that we like war and bloodshed. We have had to fight because we have been subjected to annihilation and to being fused in a racist political melting pot espoused by the regime, of course. Conditions have varied from regime to regime from the time of the monarchy to the present. We reached agreements with previous regimes. But those regimes were not as harsh or brutal as the current regime. The Kurdish people's national rights have been disregarded.

The obvious fact is that Iraq consists of two main nationalities: The Arab nationality and the Kurdish nationality. In the wake of World War I, the State of Iraq was created on this basis. But Iraq's rulers disavowed their promises and disregarded the Kurdish people's legitimate rights, thus forcing the Kurds to react and to express greater complaints. There were rebellions even prior to 1961—in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. We have not been opposed to developing a peaceful solution to the Kurdish issue with any regime, including the current regime. There have been numerous experiences with negotiation endeavors. We have participated in negotiations. We negotiated with the regime which rose in the wake of 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim's regime, with the two regimes of the 'Arif brothers, and with the current regime. Finally, the March 1970 agreement was concluded. If those regimes had been truly convinced of Arab-Kurdish fraternity and of the Kurdish people's legitimate rights, all these [recent] developments would not have happened. No fighting was resumed after any negotiation phase. There were certain circumstances which required the regimes to keep the area calm. But the truth is that the regimes have always deceived us. They entrenched their position by expressing their wish for negotiation. We, for our part, demonstrated to our Arab brothers our desire for a peaceful solution, and we always responded to any step, serious or not.

To our mind, the March agreement was a great accomplishment which helped strengthen Arab-Kurdish fraternity. But the regime did not believe in this agreement. Had it implemented the agreement, the war would not have flared up anew. But under the canopy of the March agreement and the autonomy plan declared in 1974, Kurdistan was destroyed and it is now depopulated. They have destroyed the villages and they have resorted to executions as their method of operation. We accepted the 1957 census as a basis for solving the problem of the joint areas. But they falsified all the census records and they expelled Kurdish workers from the Kirkuk oil companies. What I mean is that they tried to alter the national reality under this pretext.

The truth is that we did not react to the regime's actions. We have preserved and will continue to preserve the fateful and historical relations between the Arabs and

the Kurds. If a regime commits crimes against the Kurdish people, this does not mean that the Arab liberation movement and the genuine national Arab forces approve of these practices and policies that harm the Arab interests primarily.

Our struggle history is the history of a just struggle for a just cause. We have not demanded secession from Iraq. We have demanded our legitimate rights but the regime has tried to charge us with all the accusations one can think of.

[AL-SAFIR] What are your most significant demands now?

[Al-Barzani] We want a comprehensive solution in Iraq. We want Iraq to have a democratic government founded on constitutional institutions, with a parliament, free expression, a policy, and unionist action. We don't want a single party to monopolize power in Iraq and we want the Iraqi people's will to choose the regime they wish to be respected. Within the framework of these points, we want the Kurdish people to manage their own affairs, with the fundamental issues, such as foreign policy and defense, economy and the mineral resources, left to the central government. We want these issues to be left to the central government, with the other affairs managed by the Kurdish people.

[AL-SAFIR] Are your rights confined to Iraqi Kurdistan?

[Al-Barzani] You are aware, of course, that in the wake of World War [I], Kurdistan was divided among a number of countries. The demands we are making in the Iraqi Kurdistan do not mean that the Kurds in the other parts of Kurdistan have no rights. They do, of course, have legitimate rights. Every part has its particular characteristics, and the Kurds in each part are the ones to determine what conditions they want.

[AL-SAFIR] Aren't there relations between the Kurds living in Turkey, Iran, and Iraq?

[Al-Barzani] Numerous villages are divided between Turkey and Iraq. The same goes for the Iraq-Iran border. The Kurds are a single people. Their partition is a colonialist act which we do not acknowledge.

#### Relationship With Iran

[AL-SAFIR] What are the conditions of Kurds' in Iran and Turkey?

[Al-Barzani] I cannot, of course, say that they are given guaranteed rights. But we cannot compare what the Iraqi regime has done to Iraq's Kurdish people with the other areas. The Kurdish issue and the Kurdish people are totally disregarded in Turkey. The acts of oppression and terrorism in Iran are probably being toned down now. We hope that the Kurdish issue will be solved soon.

[AL-SAFIR] Has not the relationship changed under the Islamic revolution?

[Al-Barzani] Regrettably, a precious opportunity was wasted after the Islamic revolution's triumph. We ceaselessly called for exploiting the opportunity and for giving the Kurds in Iran a degree of freedom and rights. In the shah's time, the Kurds were persecuted most severely.

Regrettably, this opportunity was wasted as a result of intervention by numerous parties. Instead of exploiting the opportunity to solve the problem and to give the Kurds their rights, evil forces played a very malicious role in provoking problems which led to clashes between Iran's Kurds and the Islamic government forces.

[AL-SAFIR] What is the relationship now?

[Al-Barzani] Truly, our relations are normal. We visit them. They host more than 200,000 Kurdish refugees and we thank them for it. We need them and they need us by virtue of our common borders and joint interests.

[AL-SAFIR] From where do you get your financial and military support?

[Al-Barzani] From our people primarily. Militarily, we rely on the spoils we gain. We do, of course, have many friends.

[AL-SAFIR] Who are they?

[Al-Barzani] The friends who assist us are Iran and Syria, whom we thank, and Libya as well.

[AL-SAFIR] Meaning that Iran assists you in Iraq's Kurdistan and obstructs solving your problem in its territories in the manner you desire?

[Al-Barzani] This issue requires a lengthy discussion. There are circles in Iran that have not played a positive role. On the other hand, there are Kurdish forces that have not played a positive role either. There is foreign intervention which has ignited the fire of sedition. We are certain that neither the Islamic regime nor our Kurdish brothers want this sedition.

[AL-SAFIR] What are the arguments of the forces that have played a negative role against you in Iran?

[Al-Barzani] We truly believe that these forces are not convinced of Imam Khomeyni's policy. A part of these forces is concealed and it has its influence in the regime. A part of the forces has been uncovered and the other part has not been uncovered yet.

I wish to say that in the winter of 1979, Imam Khomeyni issued to the Iranian Government and the Kurdish people a declaration containing a great solution and a

comprehensive visualization to our problem. It was a reasonable and logical declaration. But it was adopted by neither the Kurds nor the government.

[AL-SAFIR] Don't you expect the climate of international detente to include you?

[Al-Barzani] I don't know if it will include us. The Kurdish issue is a very big issue. Those who think of establishing security in the Middle East and ignore the Kurdish issue make a grave mistake. Either now or in the near future, attention must be devoted to the Kurdish issue.

[AL-SAFIR] Couldn't the Soviet "perestroyka" include you in new relations?

[Al-Barzani] We hope.

[AL-SAFIR] Rumors were circulated in certain periods about secret contacts between Kurdish opposition circles and Soviet officials. Are these rumors true?

[Al-Barzani] I have no information. There are no relations.

[AL-SAFIR] Aren't you trying [to make such contacts]?

[Al-Barzani] We hope and wish. By virtue of its principles, we are confident of the Soviet Union's sympathy for peoples. But the Soviet sympathy for the Kurdish issue is not at the level we aspire for.

[AL-SAFIR] What was the nature of your meeting with President Hafiz al-Asad?

[Al-Barzani] Because of his stances, we have full respect for President Hafiz al-Asad. We need his and Syria's support, especially moral support. Because we are trying to refute the charge that this unjust war which the regime has launched against us is an Arab-Kurdish war, to prove that Arab fraternity stands far above such charges because the war is an Arab-Kurdish-Iraqi war against an oppressive dictatorial regime, we have presented President al-Asad the issues concerning the Iraqi people's future and struggle. I have also presented to his excellency a complete picture of the oppression to which the Kurdish people are subjected and of the future steps we, as Iraqis, will take, including the current efforts to create a front.

[AL-SAFIR] Isn't there a strong and united Kurdish community spread around the world?

[Al-Barzani] Kurdish communities have appeared recently. But they are small and few in number, and they have not yet reached the level of exerting influence. Our biggest community is in Lebanon (nearly 80,000) and we are worried about this community's position and future. A part of this community is denied citizenship.

[AL-SAFIR] Perhaps we will also be denied it.

[Al-Barzani] We make efforts to encourage the brothers to join the national movement [in Lebanon] and not to allow themselves to be lost amidst these tragic developments or to be exploited to work against the Arab brothers. Our advice to them is to urge them to unite their ranks.

## IRAQ

**Construction of New Port at Umm-Qasr Described**  
44000452 Baghdad BAGHDAD OBSERVER in English  
28 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Al-Basrah, March 27. Iraq has built a new 82 million dinar (264 million US dollars) port in Umm-Qasr, al-Basrah province, to speed up loading and unloading of piled cargo shipments.

The new port has 10 terminals, designed in conformity with the latest techniques, said engineer Farid Muhammad 'Ali Chairman of the Commission which implements the 10 terminals.

Mr 'Ali said that the total cargo capacity of these terminals is two million tons a year.

He added that the 10 terminals are built offshore Umm-Qasr canal No. 1 with a total length of 2100 metres.

He said that the Commission is also building 18 warehouses of an area of 120,000 square metres. Adjacent to these warehouses are four workshops for repair and maintenance.

The Head of the Commission said that the new project has another terminal for loading and unloading wheeled equipment. "This terminal is the first of its kinds in Iraq," added Mr 'Ali.

He elaborated that there are 36 offshore cranes, each with a lifting capacity of 3-15 tons. There is also another crane which will lift containers.

He said that the 10 terminals of the new port are linked with railway lines so as trains can be used to take in shipments. "Of course there are networks of potable water; electricity and fire extinguishers," the Head of the Commission elaborated.

He went on to say that the 10 terminals will erect on tube piles which are 75-90 centimetres in diameter. There are 1950 such tubes which are fixed in the bed of the canal.

Mr 'Ali said that each terminal is 25.5 metres wide and built from concrete and iron. About 100,000 cubic metres of concrete and 10,000 tons of iron bars were used in the construction of the terminals.

He said the terminals were built during the wartime and are likely to be opened during the celebrations which mark July Revolution.

He explained that there are several buildings around the terminals which house the administration offices, restaurants, customs section, health centre and police station. There is also an open area of 720,000 square metres which has been paved with concrete asphalt forming streets and parking lots.

The movement of trains in this area is controlled by electronic traffic lights, Mr 'Ali explained.

He said these trains move on 25 kilometres long railway lines. He added that the underground electrical and water networks are 45 kilometres long, while there are 10 other minor power stations and a water tank with a capacity of 120,000 litres.

## ISRAEL

**Gush Qatif Incident May Foreshadow Territorial Problems**

44230053 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew  
(Weekend Supplement) 20 Jan 89 pp 11-13

[Article by Ari'ela Ringel-Hoffman]

[Text] Shortly before noon last Friday, three young men, one of them with a shirt bearing the symbol of Kakh, arrived at Gil'ad which was founded at the Yaqir intersection. What began as a small heap of stones, torn down on the order of the defense minister, and gave birth to a bitter confrontation between the army and the settlers, has grown, 1 day after the tumult, into a wall of stones the height of a man.

The three, armed with M-16 rifles, added stones to the pile, stoked up a fire that burned in an upturned helmet and placed several branches of carob above the marble tablet set up in memory of the late Shim'on Edri. They smiled broadly and asked if I had seen Gil'ad the day before.

At the intersection, three reservists in an army jeep buttoned up the collars of their jackets tightly against the cold wind, ignored the youths, and waited for the children's bus leaving Yaqir. In the olive grove close to Gil'ad, just 20 meters behind it, some Arabs and four of their children gathered black olives.

For a day, a night and another day, the security forces have conducted a battle against settlers in Judaea and Samaria who gathered at this place and returned there on Sunday. For the first time, in fact, since the stormy battles of the days of Sabastiya and, after that, Giv'at Rojiv, which was cleared, the army and the settlers have



returned to face off against one another, breathing hard and, according to the testimony of one soldier, gritting their teeth so as not to come to violence. Both the soldiers and the settlers.

One day, worn down by the nightly running around, a settler said, "With my experience, I smell Yamit."

Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip have more than 130 settlements with about 80,000 residents, most of them with close to 15 years on the ground.

The smell of Yamit and fear of the coming days. And if not for the restraint of the settlers, said Hanan Porat, the whole matter could have come to a very bad end.

On Sunday, as noted, they returned to Gil'ad. First, it was the army that came to tear down the stones that reached so high, after them the family that covered the stones with their bodies and threatened that something terrible would happen, and after them dozens of settlers who came together in the area which the IDF [Israel Defense Force] has closed and declared a military zone.

Some months before the elections, Beni Qatzover, a Knesset member from Tehiya and head of the Samaria regional council, appeared before a class of students from Labor in Jerusalem. During the discussion, the possibility was brought up of the Government of Israel, as part of one peace agreement or another, deciding on a territorial compromise by which the settlements would be cleared.

The students asked Beni Qatzover what would happen in the territories. Qatzover dodged the question once, again a second time, and in the end said, "I estimate that 95 percent of the settlers will leave peacefully. Five percent will take up arms."

Today, at the council office in Elon More, Qatzover says, "We played a game. An unreasonable speculation was raised and I gave an unreasonable answer. Today, if you ask me, I say that any party or group would be crazy to accept a decision on clearing the settlements."

Qatzover says that someone would be crazy to accept a decision on evacuation, but Qatzover also knows that such things have already happened. The Government of Israel cleared Yamit. The settlements in the territories are now fighting for their lives. The struggle goes beyond the Yaqir intersection.

Raising the statute in memory of Shim'on Edri, and the memorial service planned to take place there on the 7th day following his murder, were supposed to bring dozens of people to the spot in addition to his family. The order to tear down the memorial brought out thousands.

The defense minister gave the order to tear down the monument. The soldiers and border patrol troops that arrived there easily overcame the small group. And the call went out over the internal communications network of the settlers: Come to the Yaqir intersection.

There were people who heard the announcement while driving to Tel Aviv, Petah Tikva, or Jerusalem. They stopped and began to turn around. At 3 pm, it already seemed that a confrontation was unavoidable.

The anger of 13 nerve racking months was funneled into the Yaqir intersection, sought a channel, and found it.

The soldiers set up roadblocks the length of the road to the Yaqir intersection. The battle-wise settlers left their vehicles wherever they could stop and set out on foot.

About noon, Hanan Porat, a resident of Gush Etzion and a kneset member, called the home of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir. My best information is that Porat said that the confrontation was on the verge of becoming violent.

Like other kneset members who called Shamir, Porat asked him to speak with Yitzhaq Rabin to bring him to agree that the monument would remain in place at least until the morning and that the memorial service would be permitted the next day.

By morning, the settlers and the army were already pressing up against one another. The soldiers conducted exhausting, pointless pursuits of the settlers streaming into the area. Those already inside gathered in groups around Gil'ad, sang "'Am Yisra'el Hay" and "'Utzu 'Etza Vetufar."

At 10 am, at any event, a short memorial service was held for Edri. His daughter Limor sang a song. The prime minister arrived in the afternoon, accompanied by his men, at Mount Berakha, taking in with a stony face the shouts of anger.

After that, warnings were published in the newspapers. The heads of the settlements spoke of a new phase in the struggle. Eliyaqim Ha'etzni said that behind the order to smash the memorial stone was a message that an agreement had been woven together, of which the central feature was transfer of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza to the PLO's supporters.

Rabbi Moshe Levinger said that the settlers might undertake initiatives that would be more severe than the disturbances that had occurred so far. Beni Qatzover said, "The willingness of the public to exercise restraint, even among the doves of the settlers, has dropped to zero."

After 10 years in the place, the search for quality of life becomes an ideology, solutions for inexpensive housing become a philosophy. At some point, some of the people know that they have nowhere else to go.

They are like a garrison force. They can be called to the flag at any moment, any hour. By appearances, they carry on a normal life under a persistent threat. They are irregular soldiers even if they have passed retirement age for reservists. And the hard core, what the communists called "the grease on the wheels of the revolution," speaks of the sacrifices on the way to redemption.

In 1984, the underground was uncovered. Today, 5 years later, Mikha'el Ben-Horin founds the free Jewish state of Judaea. And above all else, an old fear blossomed this past week: Will a decision of the government to create autonomy in some form beget a civil war?

Today, there are four emergency centers in Judaea and Samaria: Elon More, Shaqed (not far from Janin), Qarne Shomron, and Ari'el. Dependent upon each one of these centers is a number of nearby settlements.

Army personnel, the great majority of them members of the regional defense, man the centers, which are military installations for all purposes except for the fact that they are implanted in civilian property. In general, they are near the offices of the regional councils, and most of the staff are residents of the area. This was the idea of 'Ezer Weizman from the time when he served as defense minister, and it has been accepted in other areas as well.

The centers include a sophisticated communications system, a series of maps, a table of codes and telephone numbers. They are occupied 24 hours a day. The commanders of the centers must, at a minimum, have completed training as combat operations sergeants.

In the settlements themselves, in places without an emergency center, the local security coordinators maintain mobile communications equipment, at least one instrument linked to every vehicle. The settlements also have direct contact with one another.

In most of the settlements, reserve officers from combat units fill the post of security officer. Some are company and battalion commanders or command even larger units.

The weapons of the settlements, like the communications equipment, come from the army. The settlers themselves sign out the weapons they receive from their units, mostly M-16 rifles and Uzis. In each settlement, there is a weapons depot, the contents of which cannot be specified, for obvious reasons.

The idea is that if something should happen, the people of the settlement will be able to defend themselves until military reinforcements arrive.

In small settlements with fewer than a given number of families, reserve soldiers do guard duty. In large settlements, guard duties are placed upon the members in rotation.

Some of the places are linked to centers with emergency equipment: ambulances, fire trucks, water trailers, and multi-terrain vehicles.

In the wake of the intifadah [uprising], a special civilian center was founded that is connected to the military centers and to which members pay a monthly fee. This center reports to its members on the locations in which disturbances are known to have occurred, where and when stones have been thrown at Israeli vehicles, which road has been blocked by Arabs in the area, and where IDF supervisors are available. At the same time, the center collects information from travelers on the roads and, when necessary, sends out distress calls.

Hatzroni Sar-Shalom, security officer of the Shomron center, says that security consciousness is very high. Every incident is recorded in the daily log of the Elon More center. At 7:10 am, a stone was thrown at a private car. Just before 8 am, stones were thrown at a vehicle carrying children. A thrown bottle, a rock block, "ninjas"-nail-studded boards tossed into the road.

Above the young man assigned to the communications equipment, in the letters of a building draftsman, is a sign listing the action necessary during an emergency.

Let us assume, I ask Beni Qatzover, that there is 1 percent, or just a half of 1 percent, of crazy people who really would take up arms. Are you, as head of the council, worried by the quantities of arms available in the settlements?

"I do not see," says Qatzover, "a situation requiring my intervention even now."

An IDF spokesman refuses to approve interviews with army personnel. Intellectuals in the settlements, rabbis and members, refuse to be interviewed in their own names. Even those who have filled senior positions in the territories are interviewed only on a "not for attribution" basis. So it was with the following interview with a senior army official who requested to remain anonymous.

[Official] During the past few weeks, certain processes, primarily political, have been ripening that are bringing Jewish settlement in the territories to high tension. From their viewpoint, the intifadah, which always seems about to end and never does, is a nonfunctioning at the government and a failure to persist in imposing order as they would like. And Shamir's willingness to enter into intermediate agreements threatens them, carries them into that willingness.

Because time is working against them, they have decided to play the game to the end, and that means to threaten blood. That also means to send to Rabin, Moshe Arens, and Shim'on Peres the message they sent to Shamir during the last event: If there is no choice, the battle will be one of blood.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] A battle of blood?

[Official] For a minority, without a doubt. The great majority does not belong to the "Let me die with the Philistines" sect, and therefore, the great majority will be evacuated in peace. But those who will not go, 1 or 5 or 10 percent, nobody today knows how many, will take up arms.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] What does take up weapons mean, shoot at soldiers?

[Official] Not in the first stage. They will begin with attacks on the local population, they will heat things up in the territories, after that they will be able to fortify themselves, to block the roads and, in the last stage, they will shoot.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] How will the army react?

[Official] The army is the people. The army will make every effort to avoid involvement in the matter.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Does the army have a plan on the shelf for the possibility?

[Official] Not explicitly. The army prepares contingency plans only after ratification at the political level. I do not believe that the political level is able to approve a package of orders for dealing with that situation.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Even though there are people who have an idea of the risk?

[Official] Certainly. Not only the army is worried, but also leaders in the settlements. The problem is that the process will take time. It could go on for years. For them, that is the gravest situation because there is no specified target. In that case, they will attempt to kindle every possible fire to prevent a situation of autonomy.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Who would take up arms?

[Official] Members of Kakh, a marginal group. Most of them come from serious distress without ideological overtones. They do not frighten me. The hard core, the idealists of Gush Emunim, seems to be the greater threat.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] And within that core, do you foresee resistance by force?

[Official] Without a shadow of a doubt.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Beni Qatzover, is it possible that the latest event reveals an erosion in the position of the Jewish settlement in Judaea and Samaria; is it possible that the current government is sending you a certain message through the back door?

[Qatzover] I do not see any connection between the refusal to establish Gil'ad and the message you are speaking about. I have never been able to understand this measure Rabin took.

It may be that Rabin has interests not visible to the eye. That is very characteristic of him. At Joseph's tomb, he concentrated on a struggle of 3 weeks over putting an air conditioner in the sitting room, providing sewerage, and setting up a canopy.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] That same night, you petitioned Shamir concerning Gil'ad. It is difficult to say that it helped?

[Qatzover] It is true that we petitioned him and that he dealt with the matter only partially. I admit that the behavior of our public also was different this time.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] In what way?

[Qatzover] In the extent of the rebelliousness towards the arbitrary treatment.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Perhaps because of growing frustration?

[Qatzover] They definitely reacted also from the anger over the events of the past year.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Do you smell Yamit?

[Qatzover] I am worried by the political situation, that is true. But no one is speaking of dismantling the settlements. We will need to take more forceful steps against the national disintegration. And anyone who wants to see some of that in the forcefulness that the public revealed in the recent events, he really can. I only want to say that there is no similarity between Yamit and Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza.

In Yamit, says Qatzover, 4,000 people were removed. Close to 80,000 people live in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza. Yamit was founded as a security point, Judaea and Samaria are the land of our fathers. He says that evacuating Judaea and Samaria can be compared to eating pork and, from the viewpoint of religious law, more serious than that.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Still, the possibility that the state of Israel will reach a territorial compromise of that sort of another already exists; will you decide to remain where you are?



[Qatzover] That is so far away, it is beyond my imagination.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] It certainly is beyond my imagination.

[Qatzover] What worries me in the meantime is the possibility of autonomy.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Is a hot confrontation possible between you and the army?

[Qatzover] The chance is very slight.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] That is to say that it is possible?

[Qatzover] A situation in which battalions of settlers fight battalions of soldiers will not be created. But one must understand that the population here is made up of all kinds of people and I am not able to guarantee that everyone will exercise restraint.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] The fear comes from what the hard core of Gush Emunim are saying?

[Qatzover] I do not know what is meant by the hard core of Gush Emunim. And no one is able today to measure and to estimate what life in the territories has done to people whom you never before would have thought to define as Gush Emunim.

In the urban settlements, there is a wide range of people; I do not know how they will react. So far, Gush Emunim has shown a lot of passion for the fabric of the nation. There are people, more than a few and not in Gush Emunim, who are capable of very extreme actions.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] And you as a leader will tell your people, everything but not a civil war?

[Qatzover] Yes. That is also the majority position. But again, I do not know what others will do.

Several days before the Gil'ad affair hits the headlines, Mikha'el Ben-Horin, who is breathing life into a new country, meets with associates on a pedestrian way in Jerusalem. Ben-Horin presents a working paper on the idea. His state of Judea will arise only within areas that the state of Israel will abandon. First they will take control of those areas, then they will turn back to Israel and join with it.

Some of the people who have stopped with Ben-Horin take the paper and study it. "Fill in the details," Ben-Horin says to them, "and give it to me." "That is fine," says one of them, "We will send it to you." "It would be better," says Ben-Horin, "for you to fill it in now and hand it to me."

A declaration of intentions, according to him, will teach that they have no intention of leaving the territories. Those remaining in the territories will not be dependent on the good will or the whims of the current government or any other.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] And if the state of Israel decides on some arrangement for the territories that is not to your liking, then what?

[Ben Horin] Why should I speak today on possibilities that, as far as I am concerned, are hypothetical?

Rabbi Levinger says that Ben-Horin's plan is childish. Ben Qatzover says that Ben-Horin is working in exactly the opposite way. "If our philosophy teaches that Judea and Samaria are part of the land of Israel, the declaration of Ben-Horin severs us from the state of Israel."

Hanan Porat says that Ben-Horin's idea is vain nonsense.

Vain nonsense, but among the settlers, as among army personnel, there are those who say that on the day of judgment, Mikha'el Ben-Horin will seat himself on the wire fence and the others, whether they like it or not, will pound along after him.

Knesset member Dedi Tzuqer will say, "The movement that Ben-Horin leads is a dangerous one. What begins as a contemptible and ridiculed group can undergo a change similar to that of the Kakh movement."

Two Arab villages face Yaqir, Haras below it and Dayr Istiya directly opposite. To the east of Haras is Kafr Harath. Before the intifadah, the villages maintained friendly relations with the settlements about them. During the intifadah, the people of Haras have tried hard to keep a low profile. Last Thursday, during the excitement of the events, a group of settlers attempted to enter Haras, to bring order, they said. The army stopped them.

On Friday, the father and his sons picking olives say that they heard of the murder of Shim'on Edri on the news, but did not dare to come until passions cooled down. Now, they think that it is all right for them to go about there. Eleven trees were cut down during the last 2 days. Eleven trees turned into a bonfire set there that same night. Now they are gathering from the damp earth the falling fruit while the branches sway back and forth.

In their house in Dayr Istiya, there is no electricity. Two infants, daughters 2 months old, lie on a heap of rags. At night, they light a fire inside a large can of pickles. That is all the heat there is. They have a sack of flour, a bucket or rice, and oil. Who knows how many days of confinement, curfew, and strikes, voluntary or enforced, they must prepare for.

The possibility that control will pass into their hands, even if in stages and not full control, frightens the Jewish settlers there. "Very worrisome proceedings," says Hanan Porat. "If the idea of elections in Judea and Samaria actually is put into effect, I have no doubt that those elected will be representatives of the PLO."

"I do not want to create the impression that we smell the beginning of the end. But there is room for fear."

In Judea and Samaria, according to Porat, there is a hard core that will not compromise. Anyone who might try to force that core to leave is liable to bring about an unbridgeable split and to spark a civil war in which all means of struggle will be deemed proper.

[YEDI'OT AHARONOT] Is it possible that he who leads his people is obliged to stop long before a civil war, because things have a dynamic of their own?

[Porat] Because of the risk, it is not possible to sit idly by. Every great faith is capable of bringing about idolatry. Socialist truth can lead to communism, and nationalism to fascism. Nonetheless, I do not think it is right to exploit this danger, which is real, for the sake of the balance of terror."

## JORDAN

### Popular Army in Al-Mafraq Described 44040259 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 24 Jan 89 p 10

[Text] We went to al-Mafraq, and we completed the conversation in two stages. Signs of enthusiasm were evident on everyone's faces. Everyone in the governorate's offices and on the streets and every official in the governorate wanted to talk about the benefits he [or she] had received from the popular army training. We took that trip to meet with activists in the popular army, and we met them in a city which once was a desert.

Fayiz al-'Abadi, al-Mafraq's Governor: His Royal Highness King Husayn wanted a backup force for our armed forces. Law 39 for 1985, the Popular Army Act, was issued for that purpose: to establish the popular army. His Royal Highness King Husayn also wanted that army to become an outfit which can be used in the future as well as in times of peace.

The popular army experiment in this governorate, which was started in mid- 1986, was extremely popular among citizens in all the different areas of the governorate. The citizens' willingness to undergo training and join the popular army stemmed from their faith in their country, in their people, and in their king.

Mr al-'Abadi had this to say about obstacles: "There were no problems with the process of applying to join the popular army whose training and preparation programs provided new information to those who joined. For

example, those who joined the popular army received training in using weapons, administering first aid, conducting rescue operations and handling everything that has to do with public safety and health matters. We can say that all those who joined the army benefited from what they learned. They can even use what they learned in their daily lives, in their homes and in their different daily business activities. Everything which has been said also applies to the young women in the governorate. Their interest in joining the popular army was good and consistent.

"Efforts made by the popular army command during the past period have been good, and the popular army command will increase those efforts in the future to train our citizens, men and women, in all matters that have to do with peace and war. We are hoping that everyone who joins the popular army will help and aid his brother who serves in the brave armed forces. We hope everyone will do what King Husayn wanted the popular army to do so that our army can continue to be the source of our country's dignity and pride."

The staff colonel who serves as commander of al-Mafraq military district said, "I have been in charge of al-Mafraq military district since 2 August 1986. Since then I've been training citizens who meet the conditions that must be met to join the popular army. The first group of trainees, who were sponsored by His Royal Highness Prince Hasan, graduated on 13 September 1986, and the first group of female trainees, sponsored by Her Royal Highness Queen Nur al-Husayn, graduated on 25 December 1987.

"Basic training for commissioned members of the popular army who come from all sectors of citizens and who meet the conditions required to join the popular army has been completed in the military district of al-Mafraq. Based on estimates made by the General Census Department in this governorate, 90 percent of all citizens who are subject to training in the popular army have been trained.

"Early in the second half of this year the military district conducted a refresher training course for commissioned members of the popular army who had received their training in 1986. That refresher training course included the locations at Samma al-Sarhan, al-Badiyah al-Shamaliyah, and Bala'ma. We will continue to offer basic training in al-Ruwayshid, and we will train the small percentage of popular army members who did not receive basic training. The refresher training course for commissioned members whose basic training was completed approximately one year ago will be completed. With regard to how the training has been going, there is a perceptible response to this training among citizens from various areas of the governorate."

The sector commander said, "It is up to the military sector in al-Mafraq to put the concept of commander-in-chief into practice by training those citizens who are

committed to the training and who meet the conditions set by the Popular Army Act. This training should actually be conducted on the field at sites scattered throughout the governorate. Instructions and broad guidelines for this training would come from the command to the sector, which then develops a training course and puts it into practice by setting up programs and distributing them among the sites. The sectors make arrangements with various official and non-official departments so that training sessions can be held in each district at appropriate times. Attendance at these training courses should not affect citizens' work or students' studies, nor should these affect the quality or the number of training sessions.

"There is also no co-educational training whatsoever in the popular army."

Mr 'Abdallah Basbus, mayor of al-Mafraq [said]: "The popular army is considered an important and a basic backup outfit for our armed forces. It is also considered a popular organization to be reckoned with in opposing the enemy and defending the homeland. The experience with the popular army has been quite successful. Al-Mafraq Governorate, like the other governorates, distinguished itself in pursuing this purposeful experiment. Young people have been extremely interested in the army, and young women have also been interested in it and enthusiastic about it. That was evident in the courses that were held.

"I would like to commend the popular army whose role has set the example for the effort which has to be done in the quest for what is best. This quest is being led by His Royal Highness King Husayn."

Dr Fahmi Bisharat, director of al-Mafraq Hospital, said, "Despite our previous experience, our experience with the popular army was unique and unexpected. The first benefit we got from the training was the sense it gave us of unity with weapons. We did not know how to disassemble a gun, and we did not know how to use a gun to hit a target.

"It is true that I learned to overcome the barrier between me and the gun. We now have importance and value. I became someone who can protect his home and who is no longer a handicapped citizen. I know how to put out a fire, and if an accident should occur, the information we learned will help us. We also learned more discipline."

Mr 'Abdallah Abu 'Alim, director of [public] works in al-Mafraq Governorate said, "The nature of training in the popular army teaches one patience and discipline and has an effect on one's psyche. The infantry's exercises improve one's physical fitness, and one [develops] a sense of responsibility and belonging. The training also provides an opportunity for more interaction with a group, and it removes differences between higher-ups and subordinates, who thus become equal on the field.

"I now have a greater understanding of my fellow subordinates because the training becomes a kind of camaraderie.

"The family is extremely proud and happy. The training method was very professional. We became thoroughly familiar with the details of all the exercises and the purposes for which weapons or other devices are used. We are now contributing to the task of reinforcing our indomitable armed forces."

Mr Sami Kayid al-Qassas, dean of al-Mafraq National College said, "The popular army tried to give young people numerous skills like that of using weapons. In addition, young people received training in other areas, such as in civil defense operations.

"In the course of their training students became physically fit. Training also modified the conduct of some students: it created patriotic tendencies in their midst, a spirit of national affiliation, and a sense of discipline. Training also reinforced their skills and the spirit of honest competition. A number of students who had not been part of the training program asked for the training when they felt that the popular army was important. After these students were trained, they asked for an extension of their training period, and that intensified their sense of affiliation with the college."

Salah 'Abdallah 'Aql, a second year male student in al-Mafraq National College said, "At the beginning of the session we felt that we were making a new discovery. We learned how to use weapons, and we learned the principles of self-defense. The training was conducted in the morning. I am proud of the uniform of the popular army which provides backup for the Jordanian armed forces."

'Alya' Farhan Rafan, a female student in her second year at Mughir al-Sarhan Secondary School, literature division, said, "The training did not affect my studies. I learned how to put out fires, and I learned how to assemble and disassemble a weapon. I also have more confidence in myself, and I can now face emergency conditions, such as a fire, for example.

"My parents encouraged me to join the training course. I benefited also from the physical fitness and the discipline. The uniform has no negative effect on me at all. There are activities which are no longer restricted to men. I would encourage every young woman, especially homemakers, to get the training."

Aminah al-Na'im, assistant principal of Mughir al-Sarhan Secondary School said, "We noticed a change in the conduct of second year students after the training. They became more orderly."

Najah Muhammad Hanyan, a female student in her second year of secondary education, literature division, said, "This was a good experience because we learned



several things from it. We learned how to use weapons and we learned exercises. In addition, we attended numerous lectures about first aid procedures. I hope every young woman has this experience because we learned a lot from it."

Sabah Muhammad Qadmani, an assistant principal and the first female volunteer in the governorate, said, "I was chaperoning the students in the school, and I realized that I could benefit from the training, so I volunteered. I learned a lot about how to use weapons. I learned many new things such as first aid procedures and preventing accidents. And I learned how to make people aware. My parents encouraged me to do this."

Rima al-Shalabi, a female student in her second year of secondary education, business division, said, "The training has many benefits. We gain physical fitness, and we break the psychological barrier against weapons. We have a long history of fighting battles and dying for the cause we are fighting for."

"In the training course I learned how to put out a fire, and I learned all the first aid procedures. My parents encouraged me to receive this training which taught me discipline. This training did not affect my studies at all. I call upon my sisters in school or outside school to join the popular army."

Mr Dayfallah Ghasib said, "It is the duty of everyone who can carry a weapon to join the army. It is our duty to serve the country which gives us the right of citizenship. We approached the training on the basis of that premise with a spirit of complete enthusiasm and a sense of citizenship. We were pleased and satisfied with the training."

Mr Faris Shadifat, mayor of Manshiyah Bani Hasan said, "The idea of a popular army was a good idea which was reflected on all those who are committed to this service. People were interested in joining the army, and those who joined, did so voluntarily. They were pleased and satisfied with what they were doing."

Al-Shaykh Suwaylam Sufyan, mayor of al-Safawi, said, "Joining the army develops a person's concept of military control and his attachment to the military. This is accomplished by the training programs which were prepared to train people. It is the duty of the popular army to work with the armed forces to defend the country and its interests."

Mr Salamah al-Khashman, mayor of Samma al-Sarhan, said, "Every citizen who loves his country and his king should welcome the idea of a popular army. In addition, those who join the army gain numerous benefits: they become capable of protecting their homes and their families."

The technical director at the governorate's Department of Education said, "It was a very useful experience. This training gave me the first opportunity I had to find out about weapons and to learn how to use them. The idea of a popular army, given the present situation and present circumstances, requires us to become soldiers at all times and under all conditions."

**Earthquake Tremors in Eastern Region Reported**  
44000468 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English  
1 Apr 89 p 1

[Text] Amman (Agencies)—Two earthquakes measuring 5 and 3.7 on the Richter Scale shook the eastern parts of Jordan Friday morning, according to the Royal Scientific Society's Seismological Centre.

The first, measuring 5 degrees on the Richter Scale, was felt at 02.43 while the second was felt at 03.43 Friday morning.

The earthquakes' epicentre was 160 kilometres east of Amman. However citizens felt the first quake in various parts of the country, particularly in the eastern parts.

No damage was reported as a result of both tremors.

Faysal Sayyar, a seismologist at the Royal Scientific Society, told the Associated Press the main quake was centred close to Amman and lasted almost six seconds.

Sayyar said the second was centred in the Wadi Sarhan area, a sparsely populated desert region near the Jordan-Saudi Arabia border.

"We consider this earthquake a less than moderate one," he said.

Sayyar said Friday's quake was the area's strongest since a temblor recorded at 5.1 Richter struck south of Aqaba in the Red Sea on New Year's eve 1985.

He said an earthquake of 6.2 to 7 on the Richter Scale occurs in the region on an average of every 84 years and last happened in 1927.

"Within 10 years, plus or minus, we could have another one here," he said.

The Richter Scale calculates energy released by an earthquake as measured by ground motion.

An earthquake of magnitude 4 can cause moderate damage and an earthquake measuring 5 on the scale can cause considerable damage.

## LEBANON

### **Fadlallah Discusses Islamic Presence, Arab-Israeli Conflict**

44040256A AL-'AMAL in Arabic 31 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah  
by Press News Agency; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Press News Agency  
[PNA] held the following conversation with Shaykh  
Fadlallah:

[PNA] Can we say that recent conflicts have brought the  
Islamic presence into the decision-making process as a  
"Lebanese" party?

[Fadlallah] Perhaps the mistake the Islamic presence has  
made is failing to be concerned about the internal affairs  
of the Lebanese people. Its preoccupation with the  
security issue, which is quintessentially political, may  
have caused it to distance itself from the people's inner-  
most feelings and thoughts regarding the issues that have  
directly or indirectly affected their existence. People  
think about the foreign policy issue on the basis of its  
relationship to the domestic issue and if you fail to  
motivate the domestic side of the political question you  
cannot tie the people too much to your positions and  
views, thus leading them to think that you are operating  
in an unrealistic environment.

Therefore, we believe that it is imperative for any  
Islamic movement to have as much concern for the  
people's affairs internally as externally and to search for  
a way to convince people of the nature of the deep  
relationship between internal and external matters and  
to believe that those who are standing up to arrogance  
and Zionism are experiencing true action in the domestic  
issue. There is a difference between being part of the  
game by choice and having the game forced upon you.  
While we do not approve of making Muslims part of the  
game in its tortuous way, we believe that when the game  
is forced on them, they ought to know how to act away  
from all the settings that want to remove them from  
reality or to urge them to move within the designs of  
others away from their plan regarding the relationship  
between means and ends.

[PNA] Do you believe that this involvement in the battle  
can rebuild what should have been built a long time ago?

[Fadlallah] We do not believe that domestic battles,  
whatever their magnitude and symbols, can achieve  
significant positive results in favor of any party. Indeed,  
we may find that the complexities of these domestic wars  
and the tragedies they engender as well as the mass  
media that are trying to pull the strings of the game in a  
brutal and hellish fashion eclipse any party that is a  
bright side to it.

Hence, we believe that a domestic war poses a problem  
for any party that carries the major symbols confronting  
the political situation in terms of war on arrogance and  
war on Zionism or war on the domestic confessional  
system. Hence, the war may somewhat stimulate the  
political stalemate in certain positions, but it burns  
many cards and many bridges, turning in the public  
conscience into a negative state vis-a-vis those who  
kindle the war or those who get burned by the war, thus  
causing both sides to lose popular sympathy because  
people usually do not think about what is right and what  
is wrong, but rather about the consequences that will not  
be in their immediate interest.

[PNA] It has been noted lately that the American mass  
media has been portraying the Israelis as seeking any  
kind of a solution and as being amenable to any solution  
with Lebanon or anyone else. Do you think that the  
situation in the south can be resolved through security  
measures or is the conflict with Israel eternal and one  
that cannot be ended?

[Fadlallah] There are two sides to the question of conflict  
with Israel. One side has to do with the Arab and Islamic  
arenas which conceive of a threat to the present and the  
future through an Israeli presence and believe that Jew-  
ish occupation of Palestine is but a sample of future  
occupations and, therefore, the inhabitants are always  
standing on shaky ground. In this domain, many people  
are working regionally at the Arab level and internation-  
ally at all levels to convince the Arab and Islamic arenas  
that Israel does not pose a threat to their existence. It  
may be part of the region's policy which must face new  
issues and new axes as we have witnessed in the Amman  
conference which maintained that the struggle is with  
Iran and the Israeli question is one of conflict.

We imagine that the harsh and severe circumstances  
experienced by Arab policy positions and are being  
experienced by Arab party positions and many of the  
Islamic axes in Islamic countries have succeeded in  
besieging the mentality that deals with Israel as a prob-  
lem of existence and not of boundaries, accusing it of  
radicalism, utopianism, idealism and so forth and  
believing that everyone must yield to the policy of  
international detente that opens the way for a solution of  
the Palestinian question regardless of whether such a  
solution is in favor of the Palestinians or Israel. Accord-  
ingly, we believe that the Arab situation is headed  
toward a siege of all factions advocating a war against  
Israel, including Lebanon where many calls have been  
made to liberate the south through negotiations rather  
than resistance, thus leading us to believe that there are  
major problems associated with resistance and that the  
uprising will face major problems in view of the fact that  
these are the only two movements that have been  
launched to remind the people of the region that Israel  
poses a great threat to them.

The other side is the question of Israel and its strategy  
and way of thinking. How does it think? It thinks in  
terms of capabilities that keep an eye on new changes so

that Israel may turn into a superpower in the region whereby its boundaries are moved to other locations. We do not believe that America is loath to side with Israel for the sake of achieving this goal so long as American interests are not affected. In this connection, we believe that efforts are being made to render Arab society one of lassitude open not to war but to peace, however it may be, so that Israel may be the only war society seeking to contain the area without major problems and heavy losses. We imagine that Israel will do everything it can to hamper all chances of peace the Arabs are seeking and America is intimating.

It is very difficult for Israel to turn over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to the Palestinians, to return the Golan Heights to Syria, to move away from the buffer zone, and to freeze its strategy of containing the areas surrounding Palestine. It is difficult for Israel to issue a decisive decision in this regard. In light of this, we believe that the American signals are meant to mislead the Arabs and Muslims because America is doing everything it can through its history and its strategy to solve the Israeli problem and not the Palestinian problem.

[PNA] But do you not think that the occupied territories' uprising has created within Israel strong factions that are propelling Israeli society toward peace, particularly since this society had staged demonstrations protesting the Sabra and Shatila massacres at a time when most Arab countries failed to stage a single demonstration?

[Fadlallah] There is a difference between our Arab societies and other societies. In our Arab societies, when a problem arises, people create climates in which they work to solve the problem in a negative way. When a problem occurs in an Arab area, voices are raised to solve it by offering concessions in favor of consequences produced by the problem.

Other societies deal with the problem as one requiring study and contemplation of how to contain and freeze it or how to find a solution that is close to the actual state of affairs without moving away from the major goals.

[PNA] How do you view American-Israeli cooperation to continue the Falasha airlift?

[Fadlallah] It confirms our stated point of view on this issue.

#### **Fadlallah Answers Letters About Hostages**

44040256B Beirut AL-'AMAL in Arabic 31 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] The office of Shaykh Husayn Fadlallah yesterday distributed the text of two letters Shaykh Fadlallah sent in reply to letters he received from Mrs Peggy Say Anderson and Mr Bill Fallway, and the press corps asking him to help hostage Terry Anderson.

In the letter to Mrs Anderson, he said: "I have received your letters and was touched by what you are going through and I share your pain. I wish you a happy new year and hope it will bring salvation to all the tormented people.

"We still regret the continuation of this human suffering which we have tried and are still trying to bring to a happy ending. Our efforts, however, remain contingent on positions the governments concerned may adopt which we hope will take into consideration the human aspect of the hostages themselves and of their beloved ones who are tormented by their separation from them. Nonetheless, and based on our religious responsibility and our desire to maintain good relations with the American people, we will do everything in our power to bring this matter, which fills us with sadness, to the kind of ending every person, who is pained by separation from friend or relative, would like to see.

"We are bent on maintaining good relations with all nations. We know that nations do not like to be wronged by others and that the rulers' interests are the problem. But nations must raise their voice high so that peace, good and justice may prevail among them.

"I know what you are going through and hope that this human tragedy can be brought to an end soon. I promise to do everything I can in this regard."

As for the letter to Mr Fallway, it said: "I have received your letter and wish you a happy new year and salvation for all the tormented, the underprivileged, and the captives, asking God to bring peace among nations based on justice, good, and love.

"I have repeatedly appealed in the press and publicly for an end to the hostage tragedy in Lebanon and have worked hard to gain their release. Terry Anderson in particular whom I know personally. My frequent attempts, however, have always come up against the fact that the matter is governed by complicated relationships with regard to countries outside Lebanon. I have maintained in numerous situations that I act in my capacity as a public Islamic authority without accountability.

"Based on the fact that I feel the pain the families and friends of the hostages are going through, not to speak of hostages' personal tragedy, we condemn the holding of innocent people, and all the more when it concerns those who came to our country to offer their educational and human services. We have to affirm our desire to maintain good relations with the American people and will do everything in our power to bring this tragedy to a happy ending so that all the hostages can return to their families and loved ones safely."



In this connection, Shaykh Fadlallah's sources explained that the official invitation he received a while ago to visit Tehran was to attend a conference on Islamic thought which is held annually to commemorate the Islamic revolution. Shaykh Fadlallah will present a paper on "The Islamic Media."

## OMAN

### Investment Company To Be Formed Between GCC, Iraq

44000477 Muscat *UMAN in Arabic* 6 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] The United Arab Emirates [UAE] news agency reported yesterday that the GCC [Gulf Corporation Council] intends to form a joint investment company with Iraq with capital totalling 500 million dollars for industrial and commercial projects.

Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Mulla, secretary general of the Federation of Gulf Chambers of Commerce, has told the UAE news agency that the proposed company will benefit from Iraq's lifting of the restrictions it had imposed on foreign investment and its promotion of the elimination of the public sector in order to stimulate the country's economy which was ruined by the war with Iran.

He went on to say that officials from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, the UAE, Bahrain, and Qatar will discuss the details of the project with Iraqi officials in Baghdad on 17 March.

## QATAR

### Government Supports Agricultural Development Projects

44040247 Doha *AL-RAYAH in Arabic* 2 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by al-'Azab al-Tayyib]

[Text] The role of the agricultural sector in diversifying sources of national income is still marginal so far, for it comprises only 1 percent of the gross national product. Likewise, the rate of growth in agricultural income during the period from 1980 to 1985 reached 8.9 percent, which requires that this sector should be given a greater push towards development, so that it may fulfill the role that is required of it with respect to the diversification of sources of national income and raising the level of self-sufficiency in food production.

Thus, the importance of the study which the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture and the University of Qatar recently completed is evident.

This scientific study was carried out by a research work team headed by Dr Salamah Sha'lan, expert in agricultural economics and statistics in the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture. Its members were Dr Muhammad 'Ali al-Kubaysi, dean of the College of Human Studies, and Dr Bassam al-Nasr, instructor of economic geography at

the University of Qatar, in addition to a number of support technicians from the ministry and the university. In addition, two consultants participated in the study, namely, Professor Bowen-Jones, professor and head of the section of economic geography at the British University of Durham, and Prof 'Abdallah Ahmad 'Abdallah, former Sudanese minister of agriculture.

This study, as Dr 'Abdallah al-Kubaysi, director of the University of Qatar, says, comes in fulfillment of the university's objectives in applied research, and of participating in studying the issue of agriculture in Qatar by the most modern scientific methods, in the hope that the results would help in confronting the pivotal issues facing the agricultural sector; in determining policies for those working in this sector; and in bringing about progress through planning and implementation.

Dr Salamah Sha'lan, expert in agricultural economics and statistics in the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture organizes the central issues of the study into three parts:

1. A statistical analytical study of natural and climatic phenomena in the state of Qatar.

2. A statistical economic study of the agricultural economic structure, including what it has in the way of natural resources, capital assets, livestock resources, fisheries resources, and income and costs of Qatari agricultural production.

3. Statistical economic models proposed for the future of the agricultural sector. That contains two models. The first is an statistical economic model for agricultural income in Qatar, and the second is a statistical economic one for the crop structure of Qatar in previous years.

The study and the Dr Salamah Sha'lan's statement were also concerned with compiling statistical reports on the population, Qatari income, land uses, water uses, agricultural income, the crop structure, production and productivity, the trade balance, the balance of payments, agricultural meteorological observations, and natural agricultural resources, in addition to analyzing the fluctuation in climatic changes, making crop production cost estimates, and estimating temporal trends for many of the economic changes.

[AL-RAYAH] But what are the results and recommendations of this study?

[Sha'lan] There are many results and recommendations of this study, but I will concentrate on bringing up the most important and prominent of them, for this study has shown that the Qatari agricultural sector, in spite of the big accomplishments that have been achieved, is still passing through the first stage of economic growth, and that there must be another spate of agricultural investments in order to propel the agricultural sector to the second phase, which is the logical phase, economically

speaking, which must be done. The report also revealed that direct government support directed towards plant production has a negative return in its current form, and it recommended a review of the method of support in order to achieve the desired goal. The study showed that excessive and continuing withdrawal from the underground water reserves at their current level of 100 million cubic meters a year, will result in a quantitative production shortage in crops. The study also reveals that:

The amount spent on veterinary services in the two fields of livestock and poultry resources has gone beyond an economic mode and entered a negative mode, which means that this important item of spending will have to be managed judiciously.

The local prevailing prices for chickens in the 5 years of the study represent a pressure factor that has a negative impact on this activity, and the matter requires taking protective measures towards local production.

The prevailing prices for farm crops have a negative impact on the course of development because they provide no incentive, and faced with them the farmers usually try to increase cultivated areas to compensate for a portion of their losses or to increase their profits, subsequently increasing pressure on the water balance of underground reserves. On the basis of that, the study has stated that work must be done to increase the return to producers by trying to raise marketing efficiency and reducing the marketing margin that expresses the difference between what the consumer pays and what the producer gets.

An increase in the number of individuals or boats working in fishing would result in a shortage in the amount fished. All that is required is that various fishing methods be developed, and that measures for regulating fishing in the Gulf be taken.

Vegetable imports, especially of tomatoes and cucurbits, produce a negative cycle upon Qatari agricultural income, especially under the circumstances of unfair competition. In accordance with the study's recommendation, that requires that regulatory measures on the import of vegetables and foodstuffs be taken in a way that would give local products the chance to be distributed in Qatari markets.

Dr Salamah explained that with respect to production costs, the study recommended that crops in which Qatar does not have a relative advantage, such as wheat, barley, and fruits, not be expanded, as long as new sources of water are not available at economic costs. Moreover, there are crops in which Qatar does have a relative advantage, those being vegetables in general, and they need a certain amount of customs protection to make them better able to withstand imports in Qatari markets. In this respect the study also recommended that

a system of crop rotation be followed, or that legislative measures be taken to set the lower limits of crop acreages within each farm at around 20 dunums.

The study notes the fact that there are two kinds of support that the state gives to farm crops. The first is direct support, which is embodied in what the state gives in the way of seeds, seedlings, fertilizers, mechanical services, and extension services. This item covers between 10 and 12 percent of the cost of operating one dunum of various crops. The second kind of support is indirect support that can be called the support of the infrastructure for agriculture, and is embodied in what the state provides in the way of agricultural equipment, services for the drilling and maintenance of wells, ground-leveling services for new farms, and material support which it gives in emergencies. This support has now become part of the total accumulation of capital in the agricultural sector, which the study estimates to be around a billion Qatari riyals. The study pauses at the item that is most burdensome to the farmers, namely, workers' wages and the benefits in kind that are given to them. This item represents about 55 percent of the cost of operating one dunum, and trying to reduce this burden by calling for lower wages will defeat its own purpose, since as a result of that measure production will drop in greater proportion to the drop in costs; in addition, the rates of wastage in irrigation water used will increase.

With respect to agricultural meteorological observations, the study showed that it would be possible to move the planting of watermelon, okra, cucumber, canteloupe, and marrow crops forward from February to January without fear, since in doing so it would be possible to put early quantities of their produce on the market, and the problem of high evaporation during the summer months would be avoided. It also showed that it would be possible to extend the time period of the winter cycle to the end of the month of February without any fear worth mentioning as far as temperature is concerned. The study suggests that projects of protected commercial crops be set up in the central region, and that the growing of vegetable crops in the southern region be concentrated in a single cycle beginning in November.

With respect to the phenomenon of rainfall, the study reveals that there is a period of 25 years that the study covered from 1962 to 1986, during which the rains were as follows: first, a period of 2 years during which the rains were more than 90 mm, followed by a period of 19 years during which the rains averaged 65 mm a year, then that was followed by a period of 3 years in which the rain each year was less than 45 mm. In this respect the study recommended recharging the underground water reserves by drilling feeder wells in various water collection regions, especially during the first period of the rain cycle. The study also recommended that legislative measures be taken according to which total withdrawal of water from underground reserves would not exceed the

natural recharge rates, and that decisive measures be taken to reduce cultivated acreages during the 3 years of low rainfall that usually come at the end of the rainfall cycle.

The study recommended that projects using wind energy be set up only in the south of the country, where there are hardly significant statistical differences in wind speed almost throughout the year, whereas wind speed varies in the northern and central regions from month to month.

The results of the study indicate that the lowest temperature in the country over 11 years (1974-1984) was 12 degrees Centigrade. This means that when projects are set up to grow protected crops using modern technology, heating units may be dispensed with in the greenhouses, and this would reduce the investment costs of these projects.

The study revealed that the majority of farms lie in the region that includes the municipality of al-Rayyan (26 percent), followed by the municipality of al-Khawr which has 19 percent. As for the municipality of the al-Shimal, it has 14 percent, the municipality of Umm Salal has 13 percent, the municipality of al-Ghuwayriyah has around 8 percent, and al-Jumayliyah has around 7 percent. As for Huryan al-Batinah, the number of farms in it represents 6 percent, while the farms of the municipality of al-Wakrah represent 4 percent. As for Doha, it has the smallest number of farms, only around 3 percent. Accordingly, the study recommended that these percentages be taken into account when establishing new centers for agricultural services.

The study noted that of the farms in al-Shimal, the majority each has an area of less than 100 dunums, while the area of the majority of the farms in the municipality of Umm Salal varies between 150 and 400 dunums. As for the municipality of al-Jumayliyah, the area of most of the farms is less than 50 dunums, and in the municipality of al-Ghuwayriyah and al-Khawr, the area of the farms is relatively large, more than 100 dunums. In light of that, the study recommends working to supply large-sized farm equipment to be used in the two towns of al-Ghuwayriyah and al-Khawr, and supplying medium-sized farm equipment for use in the municipalities of al-Rayyan, Umm Salal, and al-Jumayliyah. As for the rest of the municipalities, it recommends providing small-sized service equipment.

With respect to the quality of the soil, the study pointed to the presence of a drainage problem in the northern and central regions, but in the south, where the soils are sandy, the water seeps down quickly to the lowest depths of the root level, moreover, there are high rates of evaporation in this region of the country. Therefore the study has recommended that legislation be enacted banning flood irrigation in the regions of the south and allowing only the use of the modern irrigation systems, on condition that the state bear part of the cost of setting up

these systems in order to encourage the farm producers. With regard to the degree of crop intensification, which is estimated to be around 5 to 41 percent in Qatari farms, the study indicates that it may be possible to get an arable acreage in the state of Qatar of more than twice the present level from the same number of existing farms, but that is betting on being able to provide additional sources of water besides those currently available.

Regarding the investment costs of farms, the study indicates that the cost of irrigation wells represents the largest item in the structure of fixed capital assets, since it is up to 27 percent of the total value of fixed capital assets on the farms, while the cost of farm enclosures represents around 11 percent; likewise pens for animals also represent around 11 percent, and it is the same with respect to well pumps. The study also revealed that the level of capital intensity in small holdings rises, and drops gradually every time the size of the farm increases, and subsequently it recommended that the capital invested in the agricultural sector be used to encourage medium-sized farms, and that the state should work to halt the tendency towards fragmentation of holdings of existing farms.

Regarding sources of water suitable for irrigation, the study pointed out that consumption by the agricultural sector represents the principle consumption of underground water resources, and it revealed that the state of Qatar is facing a continuing, cumulative deficit in the underground water, and that the outflow of underground water from the lower layer is more severe than that from the upper layer, because recharging operations are insufficient. In light of those dangers, the study has recommended working to raise the efficiency of irrigation water usage, along with re-studying the idea of using gas as a source of energy in desalinization operations in a commercial, well-studied way.

Finally, the study observes that there is no system, installation, or bank specifically for agricultural loans, except in the field of food industries. Existing banks have not offered any loans for setting up agricultural projects, and subsequently the Qatari banking system is asked to assign part of its activity to serve Qatari agricultural development projects and programs. In this respect we propose that an agricultural banking system be set up equivalent to one of the principle structures of the agricultural sector and having independence from the government system, and which would undertake only the financing of agricultural projects in:

- The field of desalinizing sea water for use in agriculture.
- The field of searching and drilling for water in the deep layers of the soil.
- The field of agricultural marketing.
- The various fields of agricultural production.



## SUDAN

### Source Says Pound Rate To Drop Before IMF Talks

45040280A Khartoum AL-MAYDAN in Arabic  
15 Mar 89 p 1

[Article: "Subtle Plan To Reduce Pound's Value and Raise Dollar's Customs Exchange Rate in Preparation for Sudan-IMF Negotiations in April"]

[Text] The decision of the Free Financial Market Committee to raise the dollar's exchange rate 10 piasters to 12.20 pounds (sell) and 12.30 pounds (buy) comes against the background of a plan to lower the Sudanese pound in preparation for coming negotiations with the IMF in April. This is what an economics expert told AL-MAYDAN yesterday.

He added that the plan will be implemented gradually, as follows. There will be a series of slight increases in the exchange rate of the dollar. These, officials believe, will be imperceptible to citizens and will not arouse public opinion or protests such as occurred on 6 February, when the committee raised the [dollar's] exchange rate a full pound all at once. This led to the committee's retreating within less than a week and deciding to return to the previous price.

The expert said that the committee may at certain times approve a reduction in the exchange rate of the dollar so that the matter appears normal and connected to fluctuations of the exchange rates of foreign currencies. This, however, will be merely for camouflage. The general trend of rise and fall will proceed in favor of a gradual rise until the committee reaches its prescribed goal of equality between the pound's official exchange rate and its black market rate.

Our sources state that implementation of this plan will coincide with response to another IMF request to adjust the customs exchange rate of the dollar. The first step will occur during the next few weeks. This will be an adjustment of the exchange rate from 4.5 pounds to 6.5 pounds to the dollar. A series of adjustments will follow until the dollar's customs exchange rate also equals the black market rate, thus yielding to the view of IMF experts that "distortions resulting from multiple exchange rates for foreign currencies should be eliminated."

In an interview that AL-AYYAM published on 6 February, the Bank of the Sudan stated that "policies in force aim at moving transactions from the official market to the free market, not the reverse." This confirms the existence of a plan to implement the IMF's conditions.

### Editorial Suggests Unified Peace Negotiations With Ethiopia

45040217B Khartoum AL-HADAF in Arabic  
31 Jan 89 p 4

[Editorial by 'Abdallah Rizq: "New Government Maneuvers in Name of Peace"]

[Text] The government has begun to talk about a new peace process which suggests that talk this time is aimed at absorbing popular and unpopular reactions to the fall of al-Nasir. On more than one occasion, the government has underscored its lack of interest in peace either through procrastination or by disparaging peacemaking efforts of good people and disdaining their results, as was the case with the Sudanese peace initiative. This is done without undertaking one serious step (as an alternative), in this age which is inundated with alternatives, to underscore the sincerity of its peaceful tendencies. The only step it has taken toward finding an alternative to the Sudanese peace initiative, in an effort to dissipate popular consensus, may be the attempt to reach an agreement with Ethiopia on a deal, to be paid for by the Eritreans in exchange for expelling the Popular Movement from Ethiopia, which only induced the movement to find "alternate" bases inside Sudanese territory by occupying al-Nasir. Nur-al-Dayim's claims that peace will come to Ethiopia were thus dispelled.

Once again the prime minister has stated that the Garang Movement constitutes an obstacle to peace, forgetting what alTurabi said on German television, that peace can only be achieved between two sides, as though he was seeking anew to waste more time needed to work for peace and spill more blood in vain.

The prime minister bears full responsibility for what happened. By squandering opportunities for peace, he neglected the requirements for national defense. We have lost peace, lost al-Nasir, and lost 100 martyrs, in addition to scores of injured.

Does the prime minister believe that the survival and continuation of his government is a legitimate alternative to losing our honor and dignity?

### Article Examines Reasons for Southern Parties' Divisiveness

45040217C Khartoum AL-SIYASAH in Arabic  
31 Jan 89 p 7

[Article by Mustafa Yunaq Mujak: "Insurgency and Divisiveness in Southern Parties: Causes and Impact on Political Situation"]

[Excerpts] The move by eight People's Progressive Party [PPP] members of the Constituent Assembly to join the government has evoked violent reactions, particularly since this party has the greatest representation of all southern parties in Parliament. The African opposition is led by party leader Eliaba James Surur. By the PPP

joining the government under leadership of the party's secretary general, Modi Tombi, Mr Eliaba Surur has lost the party leadership because he is only supported by two members of his party's parliamentary body besides his own vote.

Eliaba is supported by Paul David Warimi Alier who is accompanying Mr Eliaba as member of the African opposition delegation to the Kenya National Day celebrations. As for reactions at the party leadership in Juba, nobody knows anything about them, even though some people claim that this decision was made by the party leadership in Juba (see AL-SIYASAH news, 28 January 1989, issue 906).

The situation, however, remains unclear in view of the party leader's absence and the position of some leading personalities, such as Major General Peter Sirillo, former governor during the transitional period and the first and second coalition governments from April 1985 to May 1988, who has influence within the party and among the Equatorial region's masses. By his tough stands, Sirillo may support this tendency if he can guarantee for himself a cabinet post or reappointment as governor of the Equatorial region in place of Maurice Ladia, current governor and leader of the SAPCO [Sudanese African People's Congress] splinter party.

One does not wish to embark on an analysis of the reasons for the PPP members' switch to the government without going into the phenomenon of division within the southern parties and the exodus to government and the opposition individually and in groups.[passage omitted]

#### What Are the Reasons Behind Such Divisions?

By reviewing the nature and stages in the creation of these political parties in the south, one can see that division was inevitable, given the current political situation in the south in particular, with war, famine, and emigration. This caused skewed election results, leaving certain parties with mass appeal without parliamentary representation because elections were not held in their districts due to the war (Political Grouping of Southern Sudan and SANU [Sudanese African National Union]). Failure to have complete elections in the south has caused the parties to vacillate.

Second: the parties' financial situation. These parties that have been established on fragile foundations without programs or support are poor and lack material means, according to the financial situation of their bases. Hence, government and major parties, the Ummah and Islamic National Front in particular, resort to financial enticements, taking advantage of the "divide and rule" card to penetrate southern parties, a policy Ja'far al-Numayri practiced in the north and in the south: in the north to contain the left against the right and ultimately the Leftist Party against the right when he installed

himself as the imam of the Islamic Sudanese State; and in the south by pitting Abel Alier against Joseph Lagu and Lagu against Abel Alier.

Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi is trying to pursue this policy. He took advantage of this card at the last moment when he sensed that opposition by the Soviet Union and the African Bloc would threaten his government, hence his infiltration of the Union of Sudanese African Parties, USAP. He paid a personal visit to the PPP headquarters in al-'Imarat on 53rd Street where he met with the party's secretary general while the party leader was away. He offered him constitutional positions in the new cabinet. The prime minister found some grounds to go on, especially since the PPP members are suffering financial problems which they presented to their leader when they asked him for financial aid of more than 5 million pounds to deal with some of them.[passage omitted]

The third reason behind the division in southern parties is the matter of sugar quotas, the cause of conflict within these parties. Holding a cabinet position means getting the monthly sugar ration, not for personal consumption but for selling it on the black market. For example, it is said that during the rule of Maj Gen Peter Sirillo, PPP members of the Constituent Assembly used to get 20,000 pounds from sugar rations but lost these privileges as of May 1988 when the party joined the opposition.

The quota issue has turned into a dangerous political action weapon in the south. It is behind the divisions we see in Bahr al-Ghazal, Upper Nile and the Equatorial region, so long as the leaders of this party have no base to answer to and are held accountable by the ruling parties with the divide and rule card, guiding and misleading whomever they want. A prominent southern politician from the Equatorial region who respects his principles commented on the eight PPP members' affiliation with the government:

"These gentlemen's affiliation"—no further clarification—"was spurred on by many reasons, many of which I accept, but when does private interest rise above public interest?"

#### Southern Party Leaders and Their Role in Divisions

In talking about this dangerous phenomenon in the series of emigrations by the southern parties, I have to mention an important point, namely the southern party leaders' lack of concern for the problems of all members and the misuse of funds these parties receive from friends and some governments that back them. It is said that some party leaders have used aid for personal interest, thus prompting Dr Andrew Waw to leave the USAP leadership, accusing it of financial malfeasance.

The question here is how long the major parties, or in other words, how long Mr al-Sadiq, will use the divide and rule card, or the policy of infiltration and exploitation of the southern parties' bad financial situation. We believe that the divide and rule policy will continue until our leaders realize that this policy will not solve the people's problems but will indeed add fuel to the fire. By joining the government, the PPP, with its parliamentary majority among the participating southern parties in general and the Equatorial in particular, will get the lion's share: the governorship of the Equatorial region or the chairmanship of the Council of the South. Herein begins the battle between the two bitter enemies, SAPCO and the PPP, in view of the great wrangle among the leaders of these two parties in particular. For an alliance between the two parties is inconceivable, as is the notion that rule in the Equatorial region will not be led by the PPP unless by this move Mr Lawrence Modi plans to hold a cabinet position and leave it at that.

At the conclusion of our analysis of conditions in the south amid the southern parties' insurgency and division, one matter must be mentioned for remembrance sake, for remembrance is good for the faithful. It is Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and the Ummah Party leadership's compliance with the charters, especially since Mr Lawrence Modi Tombi has signed with Habib Sarnub an agreement that included:

- Commitment not to legislate any Islamic laws before the constitutional conference is convened.
- Ummah Party commitment to hold the constitutional conference as soon as possible.

I would like to remind the southern parties that are taking part in government to give us a yes or no answer regarding the implementation of the provisional charter, paragraph 2, pertaining to the southerners' participation in government and paragraph 3, pertaining to the management of the south. We believe that Mr Modi's statements are a reiteration of what seventeen parties signed in April 1988. So what has happened regarding the implementation of this 7-article charter? Does Mr Lawrence Modi expect the Ummah Party to abide by the PPP charter which is supported by eight members?

We would like Mr Lawrence Modi, if he upholds his principles, to ask the Ummah Party leader to comply with the cabinet decision and call for the immediate convocation of the constitutional conference before his party joins the government, or else we will label him and his clique as job and fame seekers. May God guide the parties of the south and their leaders to the right and honorable path so that peace and harmony may prevail.

#### **Editorial Claims Export Obstacles Hurt Currency Flow**

45040217A Khartoum AL-SIYASAH in Arabic  
26 Jan 89 p 4

[Editorial by 'Uthman Siwar al-Dhahab: "Sudan's Exports in the Eye of the Storm!"]

[Text] Anyone who thinks that our hard currency proceeds from exports will be in the neighborhood of \$500 million, as we have reiterated, is certainly mistaken. We

are going through the worst period of exports recession as a result of blundering policies and behind-the-scene plots. Covert manipulators have been making incessant efforts to shatter our exports, going after personal interests important to a few individuals without consideration for national interests.

Whatever policies we may innovate and whatever reforms we may institute will continue to go in vicious circles unless we can assert our seriousness and sincerity as officials and exporters in making diligent efforts to facilitate the export process and the entry of export proceeds into the country.

Due to the obstacles of our own making, our main exports are facing great difficulties in making their way to foreign markets. Every time the proper person is put in the proper position to push the export process forward and earns the confidence of those who deal with our exports abroad, he is forced out, either voluntarily due to obstacles others place in his way or by the decision-makers.

This is one aspect. The other aspect has to do with getting exports ready for world markets at the right time and with the desired quality. This problem has been with us all along, but we have failed to do anything to bring it under control. Some of these exports are often found abandoned at production sites due to the lack of transport. Sometimes they are abandoned because the official responsible for their transport is lax in notifying higher authorities of problems that may not be of his own making, but he nonetheless fails to do what it takes to get export goods to the port on time.

The unavailability of transport due to shortages in petroleum products, spare parts, or tires, as happened this season, has consistently aborted endeavors to promote exports in terms of preparation and getting them to the port on schedule. Moreover, concern about food supplies has always conflicted with concern about exports. This is not the way it should be, but due to inefficiency and bad planning by supply officials and the resultant shortages in food supplies and due to popular pressure, top priority is given to the transport of food supplies at the expense of exports. Since strategic food supplies are always obtained through foreign aid, supply officials do not feel any commitment to exports. They direct their attention to the transport of these goods so long as they come from foreign sources. They have nothing to do with preparations necessary for getting exports shipped on time for this does not realize the desired equation. Based on this defective notion, Sudanese exports have met total neglect and lack of attention. It is natural that hard currency proceeds from these exports should continue to drop. Officials complain about this drop, turning abroad for foreign aid which, at times, comes pouring in without any effort to speak of, not to mention losing face, even though they are the ones responsible for the drop because of their disgraceful negligence and lack of concern and, at times, negative personal ideas of how to benefit from



exports in matters that should not be given top priority as we are doing now. It all boils down to the fact that some of these proceeds may be for personal or sectarian gain. Therefore, with this kind of mentality toward promoting our exports, we are unable to accord them the kind of care, attention, devotion, and reliability they deserve, and their proceeds will continue to drop all the way down to zero.

#### **Article Traces Farmers' Union, Government Negotiations**

45040280B Khartoum AL-MAYDAN in Arabic  
16 Mar 89 p 3

[Article: "Problem of Sudanese Farmers, Government's Method of Dealing With Unions"]

[Text] Last Monday, farmers throughout the country began a strike which was supposed to last 5 days. However, the executive office of the General Union of Farmers received the prime minister's assurances that the deputed committee would continue discussions with the union about the remaining demands. He pledged to direct officials of the Service Affairs Bureau to relieve job bottlenecks for the farmers and eliminate the distinctions approved under Decree 8 (1988). The General Union, accordingly, decided to lift the strike and call on farmers everywhere to take up their work. The strike had lasted 2 days, during which the state sustained great losses [of revenues] which we desperately need at this time.

One must deal objectively with the legitimate strikes that erupt from time to time and that the government causes by its continued obstinacy, delay, procrastination, and evading of agreements it concluded with the unions. One must avoid a narrow perspective, arrogance, accusations, or fomenting public opinion by radio and television against the unions, as has happened and always happens when physicians, engineers, or National Electricity and Water Agency workers call a strike. Experience in all these sectors has proven that the government understands only the language of strikes and work stoppages—unfortunately, after inflicting millions of pounds in losses on our fragile economy. Workers do not stop work for the sake of stopping work, nor do they demand only pay raises. Their demands are mostly related to relieving job bottlenecks, dealing with the organizational and job structure, administrative stability, vocational legislation, and other issues whose implementation does not require financial action. Whatever the nature of the workers' demands, the solution, as experience has demonstrated, lies in sitting down with them calmly and with a broad perspective at the negotiating table to talk and reach acceptable solutions through dialogue. They cannot be handled with a mentality of "Gain time, and let them forget," or by recourse to promises and reassurance. The latter method turns problems into bombs liable to explode at some future time.

For example, farmers decided to embark upon their recent strike at a time when all their announced issues should have been dealt with, so that all energies could be directed to pitching in with the current harvest and making it successful in every way, considering the nature of the country's current political crisis.

In September 1987, they signed an agreement with the Finance Ministry stipulating the following: improvement of conditions of service; establishment of an Agriculture Ministry organizational and job framework to carry out requirements of the ministry's vanguard role in the national economy; passage of the Agricultural Council Act to regulate the profession; relief of job bottlenecks; remedying problems of administrative stability in the Agriculture Ministry; integration of performance in the agricultural sector; and linking unification of the single farmers' list with unification and improvement of conditions of service. Although the agreement was ratified and the government made a commitment, this did not intercede for the farmers or save them the trouble of embarking upon a series of strikes to realize [these terms] because of the dilatoriness with which the agreement was treated.

In November 1987, farmers stopped work for a week. Twice, in January and August 1988, they lifted a strike in recognition of circumstances necessitating this—for example, Kurmuk and the disasters of rain and flooding. Then there was their recent strike, which was lifted 2 days after its implementation.

After an irksome delay, some of their demands were answered, but other demands remained up in the air. These included: equality between farmers working in [government] departments and their counterparts in other [public sector] corporations, so that a single list for farmers could be implemented; a production bonus for farmers everywhere, similar to bonuses for other groups; equality in pay and privileges between agricultural specialists and university researchers and professors; classification of the Agriculture and Natural Resources Ministry as a basic ministry, with its first commissioner raised in rank, just like the general secretary of the Council of Ministers and the commissioner of the public prosecutor's office; the establishment of five commissions to supervise the agricultural sector (commissioner of agricultural services, commissioner of natural resources, commissioner of agricultural planning and economy, commissioner of leadership affairs, and general coordinator of [public sector] corporations); containment of pay structure distinctions; and relief of job bottlenecks by implementing the job classification to which the prime minister recently pledged himself before the Executive Bureau of the General Union of Farmers.

The major problem for government workers has come to lie not just in reaching agreements with their employer after exhausting and irksome discussions. Rather, it lies in confronting cases of procrastination, violation of agreements, and not abiding by them. Or, as happened

during the radio and telephone workers' strike and other strikes, workers are plunged into a whirlpool of deputed committees with full powers.

So the most important thing is for the employer to commit himself to sitting down at the negotiating table whenever problems arise, confronting workers. Even before that, he must pledge himself to implement the agreements that are reached.

## PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

### Hadramawt Public Works, Road Construction Described

44040252c Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 26 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Aden (ANA)—The value of projects pertaining to roads and the upkeep of governmental buildings, machinery and vehicles, which were implemented by the Public Works Administration in the Governorate of Hadramawt during 1988, totalled 1,025,842 dinars, which is 92,175 dinars in excess of the planned figure.

In a statement to the Aden News Agency, 'Ashur 'Abd Sa'id, the director of the Public Works Administration, reported that the administration provided 18,830 dinars in aid in 1988 to support a number of development projects and the activity of public organizations, whereas works implemented outside the plan are valued at 48,468 dinars, and center on the maintenance and improvement of a number of roads in the districts of (al-Makla), al-Shahar, and Hajar. He also reported that the Public Works Administration in the governorate was able to realize an estimated savings of 44,051 dinars by reducing its expenditures, and that [individual] worker productivity during 1988 was valued at 3,385 dinars, compared to a planned estimate of 37,051 dinars. At the conclusion of his statement, he indicated that the implementation of the (Shahurah-Muji' Ghar) road project in the (al-Makla) district was completed at a cost of 106,375 dinars, and was opened at the end of 1988; the Shakhawi road project in the district of al-Shahar was completed at an estimated cost of 186,446 dinars, and is expected to open soon; the 'Aqabat Hurubah road project will be implemented in 1989 in the district of Daw'an at an estimated cost of 175,776 dinars; and the guild school project will be implemented in 1989 at a cost of 279,357 dinars.

## AFGHANISTAN

### **Kabul Officers Reportedly Flee to India**

46000132e Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in  
English 4 Apr 89 p 8

[Article: "Panic Grips Kabul as Officers Flee to India"]

[Text] Mashhad, April 3 (IRNA)—Kabul is in the grip of a panic amid news that 3,700 senior army officers of the Russian-installed regime have fled to India.

The report comes in the wake of a disclosure that civil servants at ministries and government centers were in contact with Mujahideen seeking to switch sides, since all hopes of averting the Marxist collapse have been dashed, said a Mujahideen commander Sunday.

Sheikh Abdullahi Shakeeb who leads the Harakati-Islami (Islamic Movement) in the northern provinces of Jowzajan and Samangan added that the latest reports from the besieged capital indicate that top officials are looking for an opportunity to change sides.

He felt confident of the regime's collapse, and said "with the end of winter, the Mujahideen are all prepared for the coup de grace."

Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops last February, the Mujahideen intensified pressure on the Kabul regime the whole country is virtually in the hands of the revolutionaries except for isolated Marxist pockets in cities such as Kabul. [sentence as published]

The capital is experiencing acute food shortages despite New Delhi's rushing loads of relief, and recently the two major highways linking Afghanistan with the Soviet Union were cut off by the Mujahideen.

Sheikh Shakeeb brushed aside Najib's bid to divide Afghan Muslims and reiterated unity between the seven-party Peshawar-based alliance and the eight-group Iran-based coalition in political-military fields.

### **'Interference' in Afghan Affairs Resented**

46000131b Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in  
English 17 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Quetta—Afghanistan crisis could be resolved according to the tradition of Afghan people. This was stated by Mahmood Khan Achakzai and Abdur Rahim Mandokhel, leaders of Pushtoonkhwa Milli Awami Ittehad [PMAI] while addressing public meetings at Loralai, Duki and Zhob.

They alleged that foreign imperialist countries' interference in Afghanistan was the main hurdle in the restoration of peace in Afghanistan.

Leaders of PMAI further said that on the one hand Western countries were asserting that they uphold democratic norms and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries but on the other hand these countries were supplying sophisticated weapons to Afghan mujahideen to continue the bloodshed.

They were of the view that ex-king Zahir Shah being elder Afghan could play a positive role in resolving the Afghan crisis peacefully and through negotiation according to the Afghan tradition.

"America and Pakistan were interfering in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, but they could not harm the revolutionary government of Afghanistan." This was demanded by the leaders of Baluchistan National Youth Movement [BNYM], Baluch Students Organisation [BSO] and Baluchistan Labour Federation [BLF] while addressing protest meeting at Junction Chowk here on Wednesday.

Manzoor Chikki parliamentary leader of BNA in the National Assembly, Akhtar Mengal MPA, Khan Zaman president BLF and Ayub Baluch, senior chairman BSO addressing the meeting, alleged that after withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan the imperialists forces were still interfering in Afghanistan and intentionally creating obstacles for the Afghan government.

Leaders of BNYM, BSO and BLF also demanded arrest of the murderers of Fida Baluch and Saleem Baluch who were killed last year.

### **Interim Government Flag Awaits Approval**

46000131a Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in  
English 14 Mar 89 p 1

[Text] The design of Afghanistan's future flag has been prepared for approval by the interim cabinet, a source close to the government said.

The red, green and white colours will serve as the background of the flag with pictorial depictions of an altar, pulpit, swords and wheat. After approval by the interim government, the flag will fly on all government buildings.

Over the past 16 years, Afghanistan's flag has been changed three times. Former President Sardar Mohammad Daud remade King Zahir Shah's flag and then Nur Mohammad Taraki changed it again to a solid red one holding an insignia.

After the Soviet invasion of 1979, the flag was transformed back to the pre-Daud flag of black, green and red colours.

The mujahideen have used solid green or white flags.—AMRC



### **Women Demand Role in Interim Government**

46000131c Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English 17 Mar 89 p 8

[Text] Quetta—"The interim government of Afghan mujahideen is not acceptable to the majority of Afghan people because the Afghan women have not been given any representation in it." This was stated by Ms. Farida Ahmadi, central leader of Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan [RAWA], while addressing a press conference here yesterday.

She said the women in Afghanistan formed half of the total population and by excluding them from the interim government meant that the government had been formed by only half of the population.

Ms. Ahmadi asserted that no government would be stable without the participation of women, therefore all parties should realise this reality and should accept the women role in all fields of life.

The leader of RAWA criticised the ruling party leader, Dr. Najibullah for his anti-people role.

## **BANGLADESH**

### **Commentary Defends Student Involvement in Politics**

46070013 Dhaka *SANGBAD* in Bengali 23 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Shamsur Rahman: "Whether Or Not To Get Involved in Politics"]

[Text] "Do not get involved in politics. It is insane." We have heard such remarks since our teenage years. Though my father once got involved in politics, he never encouraged his children to do so. My father was an admirer of Shere Bangla A. K. Fazlul Haq, and consequently joined the Krishak-Praja Party [Farmer-Citizen's Party]. He even contested an election, but he was defeated by Khaja Selim of Muslim League, and stayed away from the political arena. The rumor goes that he was betrayed by his own people. I have a feeling that he could not take this act of betrayal in good humor, and thus became disgusted with politics. Later, I heard him discuss the politics of the country, but I do not recall ever noticing any excitement or feelings in his remarks. During those discussions, a sense of cold indifference used to become evident.

I have never heard him say that students should not get involved in politics. However, these days I sometimes hear of students being advised to stay far away from politics. This advice comes from the strong voices of the rulers of the country. Students should remain busy with their studies, and the lion's share of their time should be spent in the libraries. There is no need for them to worry about the good of the country or its people. Like good boys they should attend their classes, listen to the lectures of their professors, and take important notes.

They should find a job after graduation, build a happy nest, produce children and one day end their role in this world in a normal manner. This is the frame work of life, and they should contain themselves within this perimeter. This is the thought process of those who try to keep students away from politics.

Our honorable President, whenever he finds an opportunity, has been advising students to stay away from politics. I can understand the reason for his advice. I have heard that as a student of Carmaichael College he used to edit the college magazine. This undoubtedly demonstrates his devotion to culture. Was he involved in politics in his student life? Maybe he was involved very little, or maybe not. I have no clear knowledge about this. Later he joined the military. It is natural to expect that a soldier should stay away from politics. He did not develop any expertise in politics in his student life. Naturally, he can advise students to stay away from politics. Just to keep busy with their studies. Though he was not involved in politics, these days he is demonstrating significant expertise in political matters.

The saga of the capture of power by the military started toward the end of the 50's. That tradition is still continuing. General Ayub climbed the throne of Pakistan completely devoid of any policy or ideology. Ayub knew that another ambitious general could follow his own example and push him out of power. Driven by this apprehension, he removed all of his competitors to make his rule free from obstacles. He ruled Pakistan for more than a decade in this very manner. Ayub captured power by driving Iskandar Mirza out. Whatever else may be the facts, Iskandar Mirza was not an elected president. He came in by means of conspiracy, and departed the same way. However, Justice Abdul Sattar was an elected President. General Ershad captured power by removing him within a few months of his election.

There is no merit in stirring up old pickles [crying over spilt milk]. The honorable President can say that it is improper for students to be involved in politics because he did not care very much for politics during his student days. We have noticed something. Whenever he utters anything, his flatterers and followers echo the same things. As soon as he said that politics should not be allowed in places of learning, immediately his followers started repeating the same thing that students should not get excited about politics. The funny thing is that some of them were deeply involved in politics as students, and some of them earned commendation as successful student leaders, and because of that they have been adorned with the positions of ministers of the country. When these people voice their opposition to student politics, I can not be sure whether I should laugh or cry. As a matter of fact, they are afraid of the students. They know from their own experience how strong the student community is.

The student community in our country is the most progressive section. Students voice their feelings against injustice and wrong doings, and inspire others to become

vocal in their protests. The rulers cannot control the student body easily with cock and bull explanations. Naturally, the student body must be kept under strict surveillance. Detectives are stacked against some of them, and some of them misled by their greed for money become informers or bullies. This is done to foster the interests of the ruling party. However, no seriously idealistic student succumbs to temptations. They consider serving the country and the people as their ultimate goal. If they desired, some of them could have led easy and happy lives, but, they avoided those paths and welcomed the life of hardship and struggle.

If we look back into history we will find that in the revolutionary movements in this subcontinent, the student community played a very significant role. If the student community had stayed away from politics, we could not have overcome the domination by the British government so easily. Since the time of Pakistani rule, the history of our struggle is essentially the history of the struggle by the student community. On the day when Mohammad Ali Jinnah had pronounced that only Urdu would become Pakistan's national language, the students were the first ones to raise their voice in protest. The movement for the state language became successful due to the bold stance adopted by the student community. The student community was the driving force in the eleven demand movement, mass awakening of 69, and the freedom fight of 71. Of course, we should keep in mind that if the masses do not come forward no movement can ever be successful. The students provided the inspiration to common people to get involved through their dedication and self sacrifice.

We do not want the students to stay away from politics. They have to be informed about national and international politics. We do not have faith in the saying that good students do not get involved in politics. I have seen many good students in colleges and universities get involved in politics. They have successfully passed their examinations with honors in spite of their involvement in politics. Politics did not create any obstacle to their achieving glowing success. They know very well that getting involved in politics does not mean throwing all text books in the water of Buriganga river. As a matter of fact those students who are deeply involved in politics are serious in their studies; their sphere of studies is wide spread, and they are eager to increase their areas of knowledge. Unless one is serious about acquiring knowledge, it becomes impossible for him to make a significant contribution to politics. We know that those who cook do their hair also. Consequently, there is no proof that those who get involved in politics fail in their examinations.

Those students who are involved in progressive humanistic politics have to bear greater responsibilities. Nobody imposes those responsibilities on them, they assume these willfully. Just because they are vocal in their protest against the activities of the miscreants, constantly maintain their vigil for the cause of human

freedom, they become targets of the anger of the power hungry and those elements with vested interests. Any large undertaking has its obstacles, and treacherous traps. But, we cannot give up on account of these problems. We know of many political activists who spent large number of years of their lives in prison, enduring inhuman torture. Nothing could dissuade them from their objectives; they have marched forward boldly toward their desired objectives.

It is a matter of regret that sometime the educational area becomes transformed into a battle ground. If someone is able to persuade any of their class friends to join their party, that should not be condemned; however, a fist fight is not the commendable step to take. There is no dearth of people ready to incite others. Then there is the tradition of starting a disturbance to close the universities down. In spite of all this, the conscientious student community has to remain vigilant in order to prevent the destruction of enthusiasm for learning. We are fighting for the establishment of democracy in the country. Unless we are aware of the ideal of democracy how can we establish democracy? One of the main conditions of democracy is respect for others opinions. We must listen to the opinions of all; however there is a need to evaluate their opinions to determine whether those are worth accepting. There is one camp among the student community who want to establish their own ideology among others by force, even at the cost of shedding the blood of the followers of the opposite camp. They want to control various educational institutions. Their control has become established in some institutions. In our opinion, it is not at all objectional to have our own viewpoints. Yet we consider it unfair to impose someone's ideology onto some others by force. It is possible to achieve temporary success by using weapons, or even by killing others. But, the consequences can never be good. No idea can be removed by the use of weapons; that task can only be accomplished by the prevalence of stronger ideas.

Democracy teaches us this very lesson. Those who are reluctant to accept this lesson, who ever they might be, are not believers in democracy. We cannot but help wonder at the hypocrisy of those who loudly celebrate the victory of their ideology by capitalizing on violence, when they themselves speak against violence. The road of violence is not the road of democracy. Those who are working for the establishment of progressive humanism, those who are trying to prepare the path for the development of constructive thought process, will continue to have the support of the masses behind them. We say, let the youth be victorious, let the politically conscious student community be victorious.

## INDIA

### **BJP Emerges as an Urban Force in the Uttar Pradesh**

46240032 New Delhi NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
23 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by Vinod Agnihotri: "BJP Emerges in the Form of Urban Force"]

[Text] Elections of local bodies in Uttar Pradesh have concluded. From village panchayats to corporations elections have ended. Even though no firm predictions

regarding the coming parliamentary elections can be made on the basis of these elections, at least some idea of the political atmosphere can be had by analyzing elections of village panchayats, area development committees, district councils, municipalities and corporations.

According to the main trends that have emerged from these elections, the Congress continues to retain its base in rural areas but to lose ground in urban areas. The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] has emerged as a major force. The Congress is declining as a result of acute factionalism in district and city level Congress organizations, lack of leadership, a dearth of workers and the self-will of big leaders. However, from the point of view of organization and leadership, the opposition is in no better shape. Because of mutual bickerings and fights over leadership, the opposition groups could not reach a decision till the eleventh hour. The Congress and the opposition both sacrificed political values, principles and programs. Only money power, electioneering, trickery, and opportunism had a field day. No political party except the BJP could muster enough courage to field its own candidates for village panchayats, municipalities and corporations.

In the elections of three out of six corporations of the state, the opposition inflicted a crushing defeat on the Congress. BJP supported opposition candidates have won in Meerut, Agra and Bareilly corporations. Only in Varanasi and Kanpur has the Congress held its ground. The court has stayed the counting of votes in Gorakhpur corporation. In the elections of chairman of 221 municipalities in the state, chairmen from the opposition were elected in Dehradun, Aligarh, Mathura, Bahraich, Itawa, Mirzapur, Faizabad, Bulandshahar and Rampur. The Congress candidates secured victory in Haridwar, Saharanpur, Hapur, Ghaziabad, Shahjehanpur and Firozabad municipalities. Independent candidates became chairmen of Amroha and Sitapur municipalities. A Congress rebel candidate won in Muzzaffarnagar.

In Haridwar and Ghaziabad the Congress won by only a couple of votes, while in Meerut and Dehradun, the Congress candidate lost by only a couple of votes. Thus in the overall situation that has emerged in Uttar Pradesh as a result of local bodies elections, the opposition has had the upper hand.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has had greater success than other opposition parties. It is the BJP candidates who became mayors in Agra and Bareilly. In Meerut also the successful candidate, Arun Jain, is closer to BJP because it was on their initiative that he was named the opposition candidate. In Dehradun, Aligarh, Mathura, Faizabad and Mirzapur, the BJP supported people have scored victories. In Bahraich and Itawa, the Janata Party candidates have been elected municipal heads.

Thus in the Uttar Pradesh local bodies elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party alone has achieved more success than the Congress. BJP scored victories for its three

mayors and captured over half-a-dozen municipalities whereas only two mayors belonging to the Congress were elected and in the case of municipalities also, it had to suffer reverses in many a place.

Many factors are responsible for the Congress' lack lustre performance in the local bodies elections. Among these are the ambitious and undesirable elements in the Congress, neglect of workers, aloofness of leaders from public and workers, acute factionalism, mutual back stabbing at district and city levels, decline in authority of central leaders, nepotism and disregard of the public by the Congress-run bureaucracy are some of the factors due to which the Congress has become weak.

On the other hand, so far as organization, principles, issues and closeness to the masses is concerned, the situation of the opposition is no better than that of the Congress. But the opposition is getting the benefit of being out of power and is reaping the fruits of growing popular resentment against the Congress.

It is the BJP that breathed the most fire into local elections. Whereas the Congress, the Janata Dal, the CPM [Marxist Communist Party], and other political parties did not have enough guts to field the majority of their own candidates for elections for municipalities and corporations, the BJP stepped in fielding most of its own candidates regularly equipped with the party symbol and election manifesto. The BJP national chairman, Lalkrishnan Advani and the state chairman, Kalyan Singh held election rallies and campaigned in support of their candidates all the way from Varanasi to Meerut. The advantage of this strategy has been that whereas leaders and workers of the Congress and other parties standing as independent candidates were defeated in elections, the BJP managed to secure victories from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of its candidates for municipalities and corporations. In the six municipalities in the state, the BJP won 17 out of 100 seats in Kanpur, 39 out of 80 seats in Agra, 29 out of 80 seats in Varanasi, 13 out of 60 seats in Meerut, 15 out of 60 seats in Bareilly and 16 out of 60 seats in Gorakhpur. Even though following the elections of members of local bodies, the Congress had made big claims of success, the claims proved to be hollow at the time of elections of mayors and municipal heads. A very ridiculous situation developed in Meerut when in connection with the selection of a candidate for mayor, the city chairman could produce only 6 members before the central observers whereas the claim ran to over 3 dozen. Not only this but following the publication of the list, many members strongly condemned the inclusion of their names.

So far as results are concerned, the municipal and corporation elections indicate that the Congress base in urban areas has shrunk and the Bharatiya Janata Party has emerged as a big force. Under these conditions, it will not be possible for any opposition front to ignore the BJP in the coming parliamentary elections.



So far as values and principles go, during the municipal and corporations elections in the state, the Congress and the opposition appeared to be chips off the same block. Whereas in the Janata Dal, tensions of factional and group politics were the order of the day, fierce factionalism at district and city levels was noticeable in the Congress party which has an all India stature. The BJP which makes claims of a politics of principles also compromised its principles at many places in order to win elections. They named as their candidate for mayor of Meerut the famous industrialist, Arun Jain, who had resigned from Congress. Because of tensions among its various factions, the Janata Dal could not decide on its candidates till the last moment and finally in the name of a united opposition it also threw its weight behind the BJP supported candidate.

Because of its own factionalism, the Congress was paralyzed until the last moment and in many places it had to face rebellion. If in Meerut, the obstinacy of the Congress Minister Mohsina Kidwai proved to be its undoing, in Muzzaffarnagar, the rebel Congress candidate won election with the support of the opposition as a consequence of factionalism between two state Congress ministers. Ansari, who was elected mayor of Varanasi, is also a disgruntled Congress member.

In elections for corporations, for the first time, politics and principles gave in before money power.

Industrialists, instead of political workers, were adopted as candidates. In all cities of western Uttar Pradesh there was regular horse trading with members of the local bodies and for elections of mayors deals reached up to millions of rupees.

In elections for village panchayats, area development councils and district councils, the Congress definitely had an upper hand. The Congress had claimed 75 percent of the presidents of the state's 7400 village panchayats. Similarly the Congress claimed that 600 out of the total 850 block presidents were its men and even though the opposition described the Congress claim as false, the Congress made good its claim by electing 30 out of the 47 chairmen or vice-chairmen of district councils.

It is not possible to make any predictions regarding general elections on the basis of the picture emerging from results of Uttar Pradesh's local bodies elections but this much can definitely be said that in cities there has been a significant drop in the Congress's popularity. Though the Congress still retains its influence in rural areas, it will not be easy for it to face the opposition challenge unless steps are taken by them to end the lack of leadership, factionalism, arrogance and neglect of workers that is found in the congress district level organization. For the opposition also the message of local bodies and panchayat elections is that it can obtain a foothold in this state, with the largest number of voters

in the country, only if it also includes the BJP in its alliance and provided it can eliminate the tensions of factionalism from the opposition front.

**BJP Leader Interviewed on View of Janata Dal**  
46240034 New Delhi NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi  
2 Mar 89 p 6

[Bhartiya Janata Party leader Lalkrishna Advani interviewed by Ram Bahadur Ray: "Janata Dal Has Already Learned A Lesson From Pali and Khetari"]

[Text] Recently there have been some conjectures regarding a possibility of some sort of meaningful dialogue between Janata Dal and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. Will the conflict between the two parties ultimately benefit the opposition or the Congress? Is the probable alliance between the BJP and Shiv Sena proper? With these and some other questions in mind our special correspondent Ram Bahadur Ray held a talk with the president of the BJP Mr. LalKrishna Advani. Given below are the salient excerpts from their talk.

Question: Now there are only a few months left until the parliamentary elections. With this in view, what are your preparations and plannings?

Answer: After winning the December 1984 parliamentary elections and February 1985 state assembly elections the Congress under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi has been losing nearly all the elections one after another. After its defeat in the states of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala, and West Bengal it had been propagated on behalf of the Congress that the anti-Congress discontent is limited only to the non-Hindi states; in Hindi speaking states the prestige of Rajiv's Congress is still intact. But the defeat of Congress in Haryana has shattered even this myth. The results of the June 1988 bye-elections and the recently held Tamilnadu elections have made it clear without any doubt that the discontent against Congress is country-wide and the end of Congress-rule is very near.

Whereas the other parties have over the last year engaged themselves in summit talks for unity among the opposition parties, the units of the BJP have been directed, on the other hand, to take up the problems of the masses at the down-to-earth level of politics keeping themselves aloof from the summit talks.

In 1987, at its Vijaywada session, the BJP had prepared a paper on the rights of the farmers. Since then, our prominent regional units such as those in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh, and Gujarat have continuously been busy organizing farmers' assemblies and debt-relief agitations. Apart from this, the youth front of the party, at the same time, has been organizing the youths in regard to the problem of unemployment. At different places conferences of the scheduled castes and tribes have also been organized. The party has led an agitation in favor of

creating Uttaranchal, a separate state, in the hill districts of Uttar Pradesh. Similarly, in Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana of Bihar the party has strongly supported the demands for separate tribal states.

We believe that if the Congress is going down, it is because of its own misdeeds and not because of the fact that the opposition has been able to establish any special credibility. The BJP has made attempts to win the trust of the masses by virtue of its work, conduct, and a separate political identity. This has been the reason for embarking upon the aforesaid programs.

Along with this, on the organizational level, we are busy in the selection procedure for the parliamentary candidates and also in establishing an appropriate election system at the polling booths.

Question: Would the BJP prefer to join with Janata Dal hand-in-hand in order to defeat the Congress or in absence of an honorable settlement with the Dal will it safeguard its existence, honor, and its principles despite this letting the Congress win?

Answer: Continuation of the Rajiv government is proving to be extremely costly for the country. The fundamental institutions of democracy, such as, the parliament, judiciary, and the press are facing fast devaluation. Corruption and corrupt practices are being legalized. The Punjab situation is being more and more complicated. The BJP, therefore, is determined to remove this government from power. In order to achieve this objective we need not compromise our honor and ideals.

We will fight the election on the basis of our manifesto. If there is any electoral alliance it will be on the basis of reciprocity and keeping in view the down-to-earth realities.

Question: The National Front is a loose alliance of parties having local or regional influences. Now the non-Congress forces of the eastern region, even, are trying to be a part of the National Front like Assam Gana Parishad. Can this kind of loose alliance displace the Congress from power? Even if it does so, can it guarantee national unity?

Answer: As I have said earlier in reply to one of your questions the downfall of the Congress is not coming because of the strength and credibility of the opposition parties but because of the anger of the people with Congress maladministration. Whether the National Front or other opposition parties can guarantee national unity or not, can be answered only by them. I simply know that in name of unity the people of the country had given more of a majority to the Rajiv government in 1984 than was given to any previous government, but still the national unity has been badly ruined from every point of view under Rajiv Gandhi's rule.

Question: The sphere of influence of both Janata Dal and the BJP lies in similar regions of the country. Don't you see the probability of some kind of damage to the BJP with an increase in the influence of Janata Dal as happened with Jan Sangh because of increasing influence of Lok Dal of Charan Singh in Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and in Bihar?

Answer: Despite having a clear cut objective of defeating the Congress the BJP will not allow recurrence of Pali and Khetari. I think the leadership of Janata Dal also has learned a lesson from Pali and Khetari.

Question: In Janata Dal the same leaders and the people with the same viewpoints are active who are in some way associated with the Congress. Jan Sangh and its successor BJP have never been liked by them. The example of the Janata experiment of the year 1979 is always there. In spite of this, why is your party so keen on collaborating with Janata Dal?

Answer: Considering the facts, as you mention, we have remained aloof from all the unity talks. Because of the disgusting horse-trading going on during these talks, Rajiv's Congress has gained some unearned credibility. We only know that had the BJP also joined this process we would have been the central point in the tug-of-war. At the time of the dissolution of Janata Party this is exactly what had happened.

An electoral alliance is not a matter of principles it is a matter of tactics. Last year in Gujarat two important elections were held - one for the city corporations and the other for some of the assembly and parliamentary bye-elections. In the first the BJP fought all by itself and earned a good reputation. In the second it entered into an alliance and also earned a good reputation. Recently in the election for municipal corporations in the Uttar Pradesh [UP], the BJP fought on its own. Subsequently, in some of the elections for mayors and chairmen we did enter into alliance with others. The results were positive.

We are definitely interested in ousting the Congress government, but, at the same time, we would also like to see the BJP in stronger position in the Lok Sabha (lower house of parliament).

Question: Do you think that after coming to power Janata Dal will be different from or better than the Congress?

Answer: This question should be put to the leaders of Janata Dal. The activities of Janata Dal, so far, have disappointed the people very much. The only consolation is that people are even more disappointed with Rajiv's Congress.

Question: Don't you think that after coming to power the first task of Janata Dal will be to harm the interests of the BJP as much as possible?

**Answer:** The unfortunate experience, so far, has been that the constituents of the newly formed party are not dis-engaging themselves from the competition of harming each other's interests.

**Question:** For the last two years the Marxist Communist Party [CPM] has entered into a zealous war against the BJP. Will it cause the BJP to be isolated as an opposition party?

**Answer:** One group in the CPM is not pleased with the fact that Rajiv's government is on its way out. This group had influenced the party to come to the rescue of Rajiv Gandhi in the presidential election. Today the mood of the masses is such that it is no more possible for the CPM to openly support the Congress. It is why, they want to portray the BJP as the Devil.

As far as the question of isolating the BJP from other opposition parties is concerned, it is not related to the CPM. It is related to putting of emphasis on its policies and principles by the BJP. The BJP is opposed to the promotion of minoritism [Jobs given to minorities at expense of the majority]. For some political leaders secularism has come to mean denouncement of and slander against Hinduism. The politics of catching votes has distorted their view considerably. The BJP does not accept this distorted view of secularism. Secularism means equality for all the religions.

**Question:** According to the CPM the BJP is more of a risk than the Congress. What do you have to say in this regard?

**Answer:** The BJP has occasionally been cautioning the people against the real character of the communists and it will continue to do so. The CPM is unhappy with the BJP because of this. Last year at the time of the convention of its national council at Ernaculam, the BJP brought out a booklet entitled "The Great Betrayers." In this booklet the anti-national and anti-democratic role of the communist party, right from 1942 until the promulgation of emergency and then at the time of the presidential election of 1987, was clearly exposed.

**Question:** Do you consider the CPM to be more of a risk than the Congress?

**Answer:** There was time when the communist party was extended all over the country. It was a national party. In states, such as, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Gujarat etc., this party was strong not only in the state assemblies but it also had representation at the parliament. With the passage of time the country has limited this party geographically. During this time also, its ability to adversely influence national politics has gone down. This is why, in the present context, I consider Congress to be more of a risk.

**Question:** Let's talk about the states. The BJP claims to be the greatest force in Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh. Then, what was the reason this party was not able to form governments in these states after the last general elections?

**Answer:** The elections in these states were held in February 1985. The environment created by the assassination of Mrs Gandhi influenced those elections considerably. Had this not happened, the election results in these states would have been quite different.

**Question:** In the next assembly elections what probability do you see of forming governments in those states?

**Answer:** I am sure the results will be very good. Apart from the aforesaid three states we also count Gujarat and Delhi on our priority list.

**Question:** There are strong indications that you are going to align yourself with the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra. Why is the BJP doing this?

**Answer:** In regard to Shiv Sena the central committee of the BJP has not discussed the matter as yet. We are still to discuss it. On the state level some talks have been held. When the state unit presents its report we will think about it.

**Question:** What is the possibility of forming a non-Congress government at the center? If a non-Congress government is formed will the BJP participate in it or it will support it from outside.

**Answer:** The possibility (of forming a non-Congress government) is strong. Rajiv Gandhi, himself, appears to be apprehensive of this. What will be the attitude of the BJP towards a non-Congress government - it is hard to say at this time. It will be necessary to take into consideration several aspects of the situation.

#### **Commentary Questions VP Singh's Leadership Capability**

*46240031 New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi  
27 Feb 89 p 6*

[Article by Harishankar Vyas: "When Will VP Singh Show Leadership?"]

[Text] Vishwanath Pratap Singh must have realized by now what the intentions of Chandershekhar are. If even now he does not watch out and change his style of work, does not exercise control over the party, in that case, he might just as well forget his determination to dislodge Rajiv's government. Before removing Rajiv, he now has to first show Chandershekhar his place. In the future, he will not need to walk out of nay meeting, rather he will have to take steps to discipline or dismiss others. He will



have to prove that he is the chairman of the party. The masses are behind him. The party will operate the way he thinks fit. And he need not give in to the conspiracies of other leaders.

This is too much to expect from VP Singh. In view of his nature, line of thinking and working style, this will be too much to expect from VP Singh. But if he cannot demonstrate the qualities of a leader, then he should actually retire from politics. To compromise under pressure from leaders or alternatively to stage a walk-out is not only a joke on the opposition but it is also a betrayal of the public which has made him a leader of the masses and because of whom a leader like Chandershekhar has become irrelevant. The joke is that VP Singh shows consideration to Chandershekhar whom the masses refused to listen and who, on his own power, cannot attract even 5,000 persons to his meetings. He whom the masses are not prepared to listen to, the mass leader listens to. The public showed Chandershekhar & Co. their place and yet VP Singh is keeping him alive.

Having failed in public, the basis of Chandershekhar's politics has been either the familiar cabals or people like Subramaniam Swami, Indubhai Patel, Shahabuddin and Jayant Malhotra, politics based on money and religious garb. One is an agent for the Congress, the other's politics is rooted in exploitation of communalism. Now by colluding with Devi Lal, Chandershekhar is trying to prove himself more powerful in the Janata Dal. In the Parliamentary Board meeting in New Delhi on Feb 19-20, he did prove this much; from what has been learned of the background against which VP Singh had to stage a walk-out, it is clear that Chandershekhar will keep conspiring against VP Singh in the party by reaching opportunistic agreements with leaders who are moved by their self-interests. In spite of losing supporters like Swami and Shahabuddin and having failed in public, he will maintain his status within the Janata Dal on the strength of such conspiracies. He will spare no opportunity to hurt VP Singh. His remarks, "Nobody is indispensable", and "If he wants to go, let him go", uttered in the meeting of the Board, are an expression of his deep rooted hostility toward VP Singh. These two little remarks are an extract from Chandershekhar's speeches over the last year. His political scrambling and behavior, goes to prove that his number one political enemy is not Rajiv Gandhi but VP Singh and to finish him, he can go so far as to seek aid of the Congress and Rajiv Gandhi.

It is not as though VP Singh is oblivious of this reality. So why did he allow things to slip so far that he had to walk out of the party meeting being held under his own auspices. This is not a trivial affair. The party, whose chairman walks out of the party meeting, will not last long. After all, how can work go on without respect for and confidence in the chairman. The Janata Dal came into being on account of VP Singh's leadership. When VP Singh became leader, a need was felt for the merger of Lok Dal (A), the Janata Party and Lok Dal (B).

Chandershekhar and Devi Lal had been leaders of their respective parties for a long time. Had either of them appeared as an alternative leader or gained credence among the masses, the unity would have already taken place. Ajit Singh had entered politics as a new man but his entry did not make any waves. Therefore he could not become the focus of the opposition unity. Had VP Singh not entered opposition politics, the Janata Dal would surely not have materialized. Ajit Singh, on the strength of his father's property in Meerut Commissary, Devi Lal, on account of his rule of Haryana state and Chandershekhar and Ramkrishna Hegde, on the basis of their popular following, would have been working at the most for a coordinated election strategy within the framework of a united front.

It is VP Singh's charisma that is the body and soul of the Janata Dal. But having come within its umbrella, Devi Lal, believing himself to be the leader of all the farmers of the country, is pursuing his own separate agenda. Ajit Singh considers himself second to none. If Sharad Yadav, believing himself to be the messiah of the backward Yadavs, is leaving no stone unturned. Chandershekhar, for his part, while under the chairmanship of his leader, tells him that he is not indispensable and "If you want to leave, go ahead." The remaining are a handful of leaders like Ramkrishna Hegde, Madhu Dandvate and Arun Nehru, who have confidence in VP Singh but who are perplexed with his behavior and also somewhat disappointed. Those who, on the basis of their factional collusions, are carrying out their separate agendas within the Janata Dal are thinking that the next election will be fought on the basis of money and castes. Whereas Devi Lal is proud that he can win election on the strength of his image as farmers' leader and availability of funds, Ajit Singh is confident of the support of Jats [high farmer caste] and Sharad Yadav is sure of the support of Yadavs [low-caste]. It is not realized that the vote bank on which they are resting their dreams has traditionally been for the opposition. Parliamentary elections are not won by mobilization of castes but by popular waves and the only one in a position to make waves is VP Singh. The same VP Singh whose leadership, the party leaders, out of their self-interest, are bringing into disrepute.

But the question is why is VP Singh permitting his leadership to be disparaged? The problem lies both in his nature and in his style of work. It is not in his nature to grab the first rung. Even when one controversy after another erupted in the Congress, he did not raise his standard of rebellion till he was forced to do so. In politics he allows events to take their own course. Because there is a lot of mutual bickering within the opposition, therefore he may perhaps have adopted the policy of allowing the Janata Dal to operate in a democratic way by being neutral. That way he will not become a focus of any controversy, nor will he get involved in the leaders' mutual confrontations.

It is possible that VP Singh may believe this strategy of his to be correct. After all, whatever happened in the

course of formation of the Janata Dal, went in his favor. The Janata Dal was formed even though Chandershekhar and Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna were not in favor of it. Because of Devgaura the Janata government of Karnataka was on the verge of a collapse. But it is now functioning quite well with complete self-confidence. But Devgaura was isolated. Instead of taking initiative to fire Devgaura or to indulge in a public trial of strength with Bahuguna etc, it proved to be a better course to let them isolate themselves. Shahabuddin, Subrahmaniam Swami and Indubhai Patel withdrew from the party. Not only that but all leaders like Chandershekhar etc. lost their standing among the masses. A similar construction can be placed on VP Singh's walk-out of the board meeting. Chandershekhar has been still more maligned because of his insistence on making Raghunath Jha chairman of the Bihar Janata Dal. The Bihar political observers understand who is better [candidate] between Raghunath Jha and Ramsunder Das. So far as image is concerned, the end result was talk among the masses about VP Singh being more democratic and Chandershekhar taking the side of an unsuitable person. From this point of view, it can be maintained that VP Singh's modus operandi so far has been helpful to him. Whatever is happening is ultimately happening in VP Singh's favor. This line of thinking regarding election strategy would be a big mistake. Neutrality and the policy of letting things have their course, was all right until the organization of the Janata Dal. Following formation of the Janata Dal and VP Singh's becoming the chairman, following this traditional policy will pose question marks against his leadership capability. The sole aim of Chandershekhar & Co. now is to prove him a wimp and VP Singh's lack luster working style of considerateness and timid neutrality is helping them. If it is proved that VP Singh cannot control his party and that he is helpless before the horse trading by leaders, it will be not be difficult for the Congress to pose the question; how can he govern?

He definitely will have to prove his leadership capacity. If in the formative stages of the party, he lays aside the criteria of good and bad, capable and incapable, and permits the leaders to organize based on horse trading, who will care for him at the time of distribution of tickets? If in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar also he gives in before casteist groups, how many of his own candidates will be able to contest [the election]? Many leaders including Ajit Singh, Devi Lal and Shard Yadav want to convert the Janata Dal into a mayhem of castes. For them, the leaders' image and party programs do not carry any importance. Now it is for VP Singh to decide whether, under his leadership, he wants to convert the Janata Dal into a tribe of corrupt leaders and a group of castes or whether he wants to make it a viable alternative to Congress (I), capable of providing a good, clean government. From the cat and dog fights that took place over positions of state chairmen, it is not difficult to predict the future structure of the party. The structure which will be detrimental to the image of VP Singh.

There is still time to correct this. But first must come the determination to lead. Indications of this should have been forthcoming following the Parliamentary Board incident. VP Singh should get rid of the apprehension that by his get tough policy, the party will break up and the leaders will leave. The more so-called leaders leave the party now, the easier will be his task. Let us suppose that Chandershekhar leaves the party. Even if he leaves the party, the public will not welcome him when he appears in the company of Subrahmaniam Swami, Indubhai Patel and Shahabuddin. The first requirement is that Singh, in his capacity as the Party Chairman, should take all power in his hands and organize the party with people of spick and span image. For this, he may well have to make decisions which are unpalatable to others. How long will he keep compromising with the intimidating tactics of factional leaders? Even as it is, he has not left a good mark by recognizing Chiman Bhai Patel instead of Babu Bhai Patel in Gujarat, Mulayam Singh Yadav in place of Rajmangal Pande in Uttar Pradesh, Raghunath Jha in place of Ramsunder Das in Bihar, V. C. Shukla in Madhya Pradesh, and Omprakash Chautala in Haryana. If tomorrow, as a result of collusion between Chandershekhar and Devi Lal, the gangster leader Surajdev Singh is recommended for Bihar Election Committee, will he accept it? The basis of VP Singh's charisma and his popularity are his clean image and crusade against the corrupt. If even while creating his organization, he disregards masses' expectations and accepts wrong kind of people on account of horse trading by leaders, it will not be long before the people will get disenchanted with him.

## IRAN

### Latest Census Results Released

#### Mazandaran, Gilan Province Figures

46400074a Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian  
14 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Economic Service—Selected detailed results of the general population and housing census for the year 65 [20 Mar 1986-20 Mar 1987] for Gilan and Mazandaran provinces were published by the Iran Center for Statistics.

According to the report by the public relations office of the Iran Center for Statistics, the selected statistics for Mazandaran province that were presented show that the urban population of this province is 1,315,216. The rural population of the province is 2,102,253. The nonresident population of the province is 1877. The total population of this province is 3,419,346. Considering that the total area of Mazandaran province is 46,645 square kilometers, the population density of this province is 73.3 persons per square kilometer.

In the statistics for Mazandaran province it is also mentioned that: 898 doctors, 289 dentists, 194 pharmacists and 211 trained midwives are registered in this

province. Also, 89.67 percent of 6 to 10 year old children of the province are literate. On the other hand, among the elders 10.82 percent of the 65 year and above population are literate.

Selected detailed results of the general population and housing census for Mazandaran province indicate the total number of students in the province to be 823,900 of which 457,000 are male and 366,900 are female. Also, 30.13 percent of the families in the province use in-house baths. In urban areas the figure is 51.09 percent and in rural areas it is 15.24 percent.

According to this report, the presented statistics from the selected detailed results of the general population and housing census for Gilan province show that, with an area of 14,189.5 square kilometers and population of 2,081,037, the population density of the province is 140.4 persons per square kilometer.

It is mentioned that: 37.7 percent of the total population of this province live in urban areas and 62.3 percent live in rural areas. The gender ratio for Gilan province is 103. This means that there are 100 females per 103 males.

Selected detailed results of the general population and housing for Gilan province indicate that 162 dentists are registered in the province 136 of which work in urban areas and 26 work in rural areas.

Also, 66.01 percent of 6 year old and above population of the province are literate. 91.93 percent of literates are children in the 6 to 10 year old age group. 90.47 percent of the 6 to 10 year old children, 76.59 percent of the 11 to 14 year old adolescents and 23.33 percent of 15 to 24 year old youth presently attend school.

It should be noted that in the 15 to 24 year old age group presently attending school, 41.07 percent of them are 15 to 18 year olds and 7.77 percent are 19 to 24 year olds.

#### Central Province Figures

46400074b Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian  
15 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Economic Service—According to a report by the public relations of the Iran Center for Statistics, selected detailed results of the Central province general population and housing census for 1365 [20 Mar 1986-20 Mar 1987] have been published.

Presented statistics in this selection show that in 1365, 44 percent of the total population of 1,082,109 lived in urban areas and 56 percent lived in rural areas. The population density of this province, with a total area of 29,530 square kilometers, is 36.6 persons per square kilometer.

Total number of students in this province is 262,900; 149,400 of which are male and 113,500 are female.

In the 10 year and older population, 60.87 percent were married at least once and 56.22 percent are presently married.

The relative distribution of the 10 year and older work force in the province shows that 2.39 percent are business owners, 48.78 percent are independent employees, 12.93 percent are private sector employees and 29.37 percent are public sector employees.

79.44 percent of the families are wealthy landowners. Of these 69.72 percent are in urban areas while 87.62 percent are in rural areas. [as published]

#### PAKISTAN

##### Benazir Bhutto Praised for Giving Zia Due Respect

46560026 Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu  
21 Feb 89 p 2

[Nazir Naji column "Sawere Sawere" "The Morning Rap"]

[Text] According to news reports, a meeting of the members of the National Assembly was called the other day for a briefing by Prime Minister Bhutto. Shaykh Rasheed Ahmed, addressing the gathering, paid tributes to the Pakistani nation, the armed forces and the experts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The prime minister, alluding to the real architect of Pakistan's Afghan policy, said to him: "Shaykh Saheb, why don't you mention one more name?" Shaykh Rasheed then mentioned Gen Ziaul Haq's name. The prime minister listened patiently, which shows that she is not prepared to tolerate injustice to history. Recently, on the historic occasion of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, the government press, openly ignoring history, failed to mention the name of the maker of the Afghan policy [Gen. Zia]. It wasn't the leader [Benazir Bhutto] who was responsible for this omission; rather, her 'loyal' followers were responsible for it. It is indeed difficult to control personal feelings and prejudices when facing facts, and only extraordinary people are capable of controlling themselves in such situations. Ordinary people cannot even imagine these things. The way Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has borne herself with steadfastness and solid determination in her struggle against troubles during a long period proves that she has an extraordinary personality. The whole world acknowledges this fact. I salute the greatness of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in this respect.

A study of world history shows that hatred against hatred and revenge against revenge knows no bounds. Average people fail to free themselves from the mystical spell of this phenomenon. But we know that such people become victims of constant destruction and devastation, and, despite their best efforts, cannot get themselves out of this perplexity. This loathsome sentiment has led to the



annihilation of innumerable tribes and nations, and, today, no one mentions their name. It appears that the human race has reached such heights of progress that now our capability to control ancient primal sentiments of hatred and revenge has increased tremendously. Only in recent years have we witnessed countless examples of such incidents. For example, Rajiv Gandhi, keeping sentiments inside, started realistic discussions with the Sikhs a few weeks after his mother's assassination. Mrs Corazone Aquino allowed her husband's assassin, Ferdinand Marcos, to leave the country, and, forgiving the past roles of his colleagues, allowed them to continue to play their part in society. Gorbachev, acting against Soviet traditions and abandoning superpower arrogance and challenging all kinds of provocations, has implemented his decision to withdraw Soviet forces from Afghanistan. Soviets are easing confrontation and tension even in Europe, and inside the country they have drawn Sakharov, the most bitter critic of Soviet policy, into the mainstream of society. The Palestinian leader Yasser 'Arafat at long last agreed to live in mutual co-existence with the people who have been occupying his soil for half a century and whose hands are covered with the blood of his nation.

An ordinary thinking man would look upon these things as victory or defeat. But there is a world of difference in the effects and results of actions of a leader and ordinary individuals. An individual's actions will affect himself, his family or at the most a few other people, but a leader's decision can make or mar a nation's destiny. Rajiv Gandhi must have been sad on account of his mother's assassination, but he could not endanger his country's security because of personal grief. Soviet leaders sat down for talks with the Afghan mujahedin who killed their 15,000 youths. Yasser 'Arafat's heart must be bleeding, yet he is holding peace talks with the killers of [Palestinian] children. Certainly leaderships still exist

that, instead of accepting truth and facts, throw away the lives of their own people to death and destruction. But we must thank God that, due to our old cultural traditions, the wisdom of Sind and the Punjab, and the democratic concepts fostered by Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam, Pakistan appears to be heading towards a better society and culture.

I often criticise the political line of action of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, the selection of her colleagues and many of her policies. It is not my duty to criticize her nor am I obliged to ignore her virtues. It is not my job to praise or blame someone. The rulers do have their good as well as their bad points. People who do not perceive the evil as well as good aspects of the rulers are certainly one-sided. Openness in a country where autocratic rule prevailed is really a great thing. Instead of acting like ordinary people who refuse to acknowledge the presence of their enemy, Benazir Bhutto accepted the truth and in this way she joined the ranks of very great and extraordinary leaders. If she manages to maintain this attitude, Pakistan would be free from the legacy of hatred and vengeance. The credit for all this would go to Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, whose father welcomed Sheikh Mujib [Bangladesh's founder] and thus made brothers, drenched in each other's blood, embrace again. Benazir Bhutto should prove her pragmatism by accepting the existence of IJI [Islami Jamhuri Ittehad].

As for the Jamaat [i.e., Jamaat-e Islami], the party, on the whole, is not what it used to be. Now many enlightened and refined young men have joined its ranks. But they too are helpless against their elders...just as Benazir Bhutto and her 'proper' colleagues are helpless against their hotheads. If both the groups were to free themselves from these burdens and try to form a society based on principles of democracy, then the best interests of both the country and the nation will be served.

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